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Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

Editors

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT AS A MANUFACTURING STATE

By GRACE PIERPONT FULLER

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Smith College
in candidacy for the degree of
Master of Arts

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Published Quarterly by the
Department of History of Smith College

SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

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EDITORS

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THE SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY aims primarily to afford a medium for the publication of studies in History and Government by investigators who have some relation to the College, either as faculty, aluminae, students or friends. It aims also to publish from time to time brief notes in the field of History and Government which may be of special interest to alumnae of Smith College and to others interested in the higher education of women. Contributions of studies or notes which promise to further either of these aims will be welcomed, and should be addressed to Professor JOHN S. BASSETT, Northampton, Mass.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In this study I have attempted to trace some of the steps by which Connecticut has changed within the last hundred years from a loose collection of largely isolated and nearly self-sufficing rural communities into a highly organized manufacturing state, importing a very large proportion of its food, and sending its manufactured goods to every corner of the world. This is not a history of manufacturing in Connecticut, on either the technical or the economic side; but it is hoped that the work may show how valuable would be a fuller and more adequate presentation of the economic development of one of the New England states.

My investigation was carried under the direction of the late Dr. Guy S. Callender, professor of Political Economy in Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, until his death in August, 1915. I desire to acknowledge courtesies extended to me by the Yale University Library.

G. P. F.

New Haven, Conn., October 23, 1915.

An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State

CHAPTER I

CONNECTICUT BETWEEN 1815 AND 1820

At the present time Connecticut ranks fourth among the states in density of population.¹ Among her 168 towns there are (1915) three cities of more than 100,000; she has fifteen cities and twenty-one incorporated boroughs. The towns range in population from New Haven with (1910) 133,605 to Marlborough with 302.²

According to the United States Census Report on Manufactures for 1900-1905,³ Connecticut produces 80.7% of all the rolled brass and copper made in the United States, 72.2% of the ammunition, 69.4% of the clocks, 66.9% of the plated ware, 51.6% of the brass ware, and 46.9% of the hardware. The following table shows the extent to which the country's production in the given industries is localized in cities of this state, and also the specialization in the industry within the city.

	Localization by Cities		Per Cent. of Specialization
	1905	1900	
Waterburybrassware	42.2%	46.8%	28.8%
Meriden.....plated ware	40.1	45.6	28.7
Bridgeportcorsets	19.9	22.3	
New Britain.....hardware	15.5	16.2	51.4
Danburyhats	15.8	18.0	75.1

¹ Density: Rhode Island, 508.5; Massachusetts, 418.8; New Jersey, 337.7; Connecticut, 231.3; New York, 191; Pennsylvania, 171. (U. S. Census 1910).

² For convenience of reference to the population of Connecticut at different times, I have used the Register and Manual of Connecticut for 1914, pp. 634-638: "Population of Connecticut by Towns, from 1756 to 1910. Compiled from official returns." Special reference to this table will not be made on later pages of this study.

³ U. S. Census, 1905. Localization of Industries. Pp. cclv.-cclxii.

All this is very different from the state of affairs in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Yet even a hundred years ago a beginning had been made in each of the industries in which Connecticut now takes first place among the states. The beginnings were so small in some cases that if we did not know to what they have grown we might never notice them, but already in 1818 Connecticut was known as the land of steady habits, the home of "Yankee notions," clocks, and tinware. Her people were noted for their spirit of industry and enterprise, and for the spirit of traffic which had led thousands of them abroad, where they were to be found all through the South vending tinware and the clocks.

For the study of her manufacturing interests we are fortunate in having two good sources of information for the early years. The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, organized in 1801, essayed to produce a *Statistical Account* of every town in the state. It addressed a circular letter to the clergymen of the different towns. The list of questions was so comprehensive that we may surmise that it discouraged most of the men to whom it was addressed. However, in 1811, the Academy was able to print an account of New Haven that had been written by President Dwight of Yale College. A few years later the Academy published an account of several of the towns in Litchfield County and one of Middlesex County.

We do not have to depend, however, upon the Connecticut Academy for a complete survey of Connecticut. The Pease and Niles *Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode Island*, published in Hartford in 1819, was compiled from first-hand information received from the towns direct. The compilers used the *Statistical Account* so far as it went. For the rest of the state they visited every county and nearly every town, and, as they tell us in the introduction, "a circular letter specifying the several subjects upon which information was requested has been sent to one of the most intelligent inhabitants in every other town."⁴ They add, "We are sensible that the information obtained in this

⁴ P. and N. Preface, p. iv.

mode may in some instances have been erroneous; but considering the respectable source from whence it has been derived, we have no doubt but that in general it will be found correct."

This *Gazetteer* is particularly useful to us, not only because it is made up of first-hand information, but also because the unit studied is the logical one, the town, and not the arbitrary county division followed in the United States census. We are given in the *Gazetteer* a detailed account of every town in the state: we know the nature of its soil, its physical features of interest, its manufactures, its size, its assessment, and its history. The compilers of the *Gazetteer* believed that in manufacturing Connecticut was to find her success. Accordingly, they give full weight to every beginning of manufacture that is reported from a town; every grist mill, tannery, and carding machine is reported as a "factory" or "manufactory." They mention every cotton and woolen mill and every small manufacturing venture that can be given the name, and they are careful to mention it whenever they know that any given product is "sent abroad for a market." They do not often give us figures for the output or the size of the plant. When they do it is for the ones they tell us are "on an extensive scale," and from their conception of extensiveness we can sometimes guess how small are the others. While some details may be left out, we may be tolerably certain that there was no considerable development of any industry in a town which was overlooked.

At that time, 1815-1818, there was no place in Connecticut that we today should call a manufacturing town. Agriculture was still the staple occupation of the state. Almost as universally as on the manors of medieval England the people in the New England rural communities of those days "made all they needed and needed all they made," and we cannot suppose that the conditions in the "cities" were very different. There were five cities in the state, all having been incorporated in 1784 on the basis, it would seem, of their commerce, which was in all of them important at that time. These were New Haven, New London, Hartford, Norwich, and Middletown.

One proof of the practical uniformity of conditions is found in the state constitution that was adopted in 1818. It is not necessary to go to any contemporary publication to find this document, for the constitution of 1818 is in its essentials still unchanged, and it cannot now be revised without something little short of a revolution. By that constitution representation in the House of Representatives is by towns, each having as many representatives as it had in 1818; and no town, no matter how large it may become, can ever have any more than it had at that time. Then, as now, every town had either one representative or two. In 1810 the town of Union had 752 inhabitants and New Haven 6,967. It was sufficiently preposterous in those days to give the two towns equal representation, but it is safe to say that if anyone had foreseen that a hundred years later Union would have 322 inhabitants and New Haven 133,605, the constitution would never have been adopted without some provision for amendment by direct appeal to the people.

In 1818 New Haven, though the largest city, was still a country town, and there probably was no great opposition of interests between it and the most rural towns. When President Dwight wrote his *Statistical Account* of New Haven (1811), East and West Rocks were two miles from town. The compact part of the city occupied about one out of the six square miles of the incorporated city and the eighteen of the town. He tells us⁵ there were 750 houses in the city, with "shops and barns scarcely less numerous"; "the public buildings in New Haven are the collegiate buildings, 5 churches, 4 school houses, the state house, county house, gaol, bank, alms house and market; all of them decent but none of them beautiful"; "the agriculture carried on within the limits of this city is directed to most of the objects pursued in the husbandry of this country: wheat, rye, maize, barley, oats, flax, and grass are the principal products."

Writing in 1818, Pease and Niles could say of New Haven:

"New-Haven, for a place of its size and importance, is characterized by an appearance of plainness, neatness and order; and presents little of

⁵ Dwight, *Statistical Account*, pp. 18-19.

that stately magnificence, or gorgeous splendour, which are to be found in most of the cities in the United States. The houses are in general two stories high, and built of wood, in a neat and handsome style, but are not expensive or elegant. Within some years past, however, several brick and stone buildings have been erected, which are elegant and stately edifices. Most of the buildings stand upon the streets forming the squares. . . . The buildings are not arranged in lines; many of them being set back, leaving open fronts, which are neatly fenced, and ornamented with evergreens and flowering shrubs. Almost every dwelling-house is furnished with a piece of ground in the rear, sufficiently large for a good garden; and many for a supply of fruit trees and other purposes. These advantages and improvements afford the inhabitants many conveniences in the summer season, and at the same time contribute greatly to the pleasantness and interest of the city.”⁶

Yet New Haven was something more than merely a country town, for we read in Dwight’s Statistical Account that there were 29 houses engaged in foreign trade, 41 stores of dry goods, 42 grocery stores, 4 ship chandleries, 17 butchers’ stalls, and that 60 captains of vessels employed in foreign commerce lived in the town. The exports of New Haven were almost all extractive products.

Even a few years later, at the time of the *Gazetteer*, the manufactures of New Haven were almost negligible. They numbered: 1 hat factory, 1 nail factory, 1 powder mill, 1 cotton factory, 2 paper mills, 17 boot and shoe factories, and 1 comb maker. The only thing that suggests the manufacturing city of a later date is the entry “8 Chaise & wagon makers, some of which carry on the business on an extensive scale.” President Dwight had written in his *Statistical Account* that ninety or a hundred carriages were made here in a year, and this surely is not an “extensive” scale of manufacture in the modern sense of the word. We must be on our guard against reading into this use of the word “factory” our modern understanding of a factory with its minute division of labor, its multitude of workers, and its power-driven machines. There was no such thing as a

⁶ In the Pease and Niles *Gazetteer* the towns are arranged alphabetically within the counties. For this reason special reference to pages in P. and N. will not be made when a statement is taken from the entry of a town whose name appears with the text quotation.

modern shoe factory until after the invention of the sewing machine, hardly before 1855, and we need not suppose that these 17 boot and shoe factories were very different from the cobblers' shops of our own day.

So much for New Haven. We have no such full account as President Dwight's *Statistical Account* of New Haven for any of the other cities of the time, but from the *Gazetteer* we can make a fairly vivid picture of conditions in the years immediately succeeding the war with England. New London's specialty was fishing. A few years later her whaling industry was surpassed only by New Bedford's, and this was in addition to her fishing "from Cape Cod to Egg Harbour" and her "coasting trade with the Southern States." Norwich, too, carried on a considerable coastwise commerce, but here there were beginnings of the cotton industry. Besides a cotton factory of 1200 spindles, she had in 1818 two paper mills, two manufactories of morocco leather, and one wool factory. Middletown and Hartford did more manufacturing. In the former were two woolen and two cotton mills "with considerable reputation." Here also were made swords, pistols, and rifles for the United States government, and it was reported that the swords "have been esteemed equal in every respect if not superior to those imported." Besides these manufactures in Middletown there were six tinware factories and small establishments for making buttons, pewter, combs, paper, powder, rope, twine, muffs and tippets. In Hartford there were still more manufactures—a looking-glass factory producing \$30,000 worth annually, one whip-lash factory making \$10,000 worth each year, one machine card factory making \$10,000 worth, one cotton factory of 320 spindles, one copper-smith employing 20 men, three distilleries, five potteries, two tinware factories, one employing 36 men, fifteen shoe factories, and one button factory, one bell foundry, one paper hanging manufactory, and one pewter factory.

These five cities represent the highest manufacturing development then found in the state. For the rest of the survey it is more intelligible to take the state by industries, to see how

much of the state was still in the stage of local self-sufficiency where each community made what manufactured goods it must have. We can thus see which communities had developed some manufactured products that they disposed of outside the town, and which were selling to a market still more remote.

It may be questioned why the years 1815-1820 are the ones chosen for the earliest survey of Connecticut manufactures. The reasons are not far to seek. There is no other contemporary account of Connecticut so full and so accurate as the Pease and Niles *Gazetteer*. Moreover there is no proof that any great changes in the economic life of Connecticut had taken place in the last forty or fifty years before 1815. It is commonly believed and frequently stated that the period of the embargo and the war with England had the effect of causing a tremendous upspringing of manufactures in the United States and particularly in New England. Effect it undoubtedly did have, particularly in the making of textiles, but the very small amount of manufacturing that can be proved to have existed at the close of the war is sufficient proof that this growth of manufactures had not been tremendous. Stoppage of trade in manufactured goods would naturally cause the beginning of manufactures within the country, but this only where a considerable proportion of the inhabitants were in the habit of depending upon foreign manufactured goods. Within a community where practically nothing but salt and a little iron were imported, where all the articles of daily use were made within the household or, at furthest, by the artisan-farmers of the neighborhood, an embargo upon foreign trade would be but little noted.

The study of Pease and Niles makes very clear to us how dependent the people of the Connecticut countryside still were upon their own exertions for manufactured goods. At that time the market for farm product was small. As we have seen, Connecticut's largest town produced all the field crops within the city limits. New York was a city of only 123,706 in 1820 and provided no such market for Connecticut's dairy products as today. Trade in Connecticut's agricultural produce there was,

and had been as long before as the time of the triangular West India trade, but there is little to prove that much of this produce came from the back country towns. Connecticut was still exporting extractive products but, in general, these came from near tide water and in return for them were imported manufactured goods from Europe. The result was that the families in the back country towns must make their own manufactured articles or go without, for they had no money with which to pay for any other kind, whereas the commercial towns on the water edge were able to import what they needed.

There were 38 towns⁷ in the state in 1818 which, so far as we know, had nothing to exchange with the outside world except their agricultural produce, and not much of that. Only one agricultural town so far as we know produced any notable crop: this was Wethersfield, on the Connecticut river. Wethersfield's onions were famous then and are still a profitable product. In this town alone among the rural towns there is no mention of a grist mill, fulling mill, or any of the other helps to farmers and their wives, and it may be that in return for their onions the Wethersfield farmers got money with which to buy flour and cloth in Hartford.

Besides these thirty-eight wholly rural towns there were as many more whose connection with the outside world was of the slightest. In Canton, for instance, there was a powder mill, in Cheshire a tinware factory, in Milford one large merchant mill; in the agricultural towns of New London, Windham, and Tolland counties we find frequently the mention of a cotton mill or a woolen mill. In the whole state there were sixty-seven cotton mills but of not more than twenty is there any suggestion that they filled any more than the local need for cotton cloth, now

⁷ Farmington, Wethersfield, Hartland, Branford, East Haven, Middlebury, North Haven, Southbury, Woodbridge, Wolcott, North Stonington, Preston, Brookfield, Greenwich, Huntington, New Fairfield, Newton, Sherman, Trumbull, Weston, Wilton, Windham, Ashford, Brooklyn, Columbia, Hampton, Lebanon, Bethlehem, Harwinton, Roxbury, Watertown, Woodbury, East Haddam, Killingworth, Tolland, Bolton, Ellington, Union. P. and N.

beginning to take the place formerly occupied by linen. The same is true of the woolen mills, except that they seem usually to have been smaller establishments than the cotton mills. None of the ventures in this group of towns were of a kind to give employment to more than a very few of the inhabitants of the town, and they cannot be assumed to have modified in any appreciable degree the towns' essentially self-sufficing, rural character.

In all these agricultural towns, and equally in the towns where there was manufacturing, there were grist mills, fulling mills, carding machines, tanneries, and blacksmith shops, which supplied almost all the local needs that could not be met within the family group. Pease and Niles tell us that except in the cities nearly every family wove its own cloth and took it to the fulling mill for finishing.⁸ How skilful and how versatile some of the village artisans were may be seen from the following list of articles made in the blacksmith shop of James North, of New Britain, and sold to customers: augurs, brads, bridle bits, bails, chest locks, compasses, chisels, crow-bars, boxes (i. e. wagon boxes, part of the axle), bush scythes, grips, hoes, hooks, hinges, knives, keys, pitchforks, shaves, spikes, shovels and tongs, ram-rods, spades, staples, steel landslides, sleigh irons, and wedges. The list is taken from an account book of 1778-1780.⁹

We could spend a long time discussing these manufactures for consumption within the town—custom manufactures all—but we are in search of evidence of manufacture for a market, whether within the state or outside. These evidences are plentiful. In fact there are so many manufactures listed in Pease and Niles that might be so classified that it is very hard to realize how small must have been the individual establishments, how simple must have been their form of organization, and how inconsiderable the bulk of the articles named as “manufactured for export.”

In at least 45 towns of Connecticut in 1818 there was something manufactured for sale outside the town, for a market.

⁸ P. and N., p. 17.

⁹ History of New Britain, p. 264.

These manufactures fall under the two heads of manufactures that lightened home work and manufactures for profit. Both kinds were extensions of work previously done on the farms themselves or by the early artisans who had worked at their trades intermittently, for their townsmen only. All except two of the industries reported in Pease and Niles seem to have been carried on as social businesses on a small scale, the proprietor and his few apprentices and other workmen working side by side in the shop, with hand tools usually, with horse or water power occasionally. The two exceptional industries were the making of boots and shoes and the making of straw braid for hats, both of which were carried on under the domestic system, the workers doing the work at home for an employer who marketed the goods. To a certain extent the textile mills employed outside weavers,¹⁰ for 1818 was before the time of general use of the power loom, even in factories.

The statement that in 45 Connecticut towns there was real manufacturing going on must not be interpreted as saying that any of these were "manufacturing towns." A "town" in the Connecticut vocabulary is not a collection of houses side by side. A town is the unit of political division of the state, a township. Each town is bounded on all sides by other towns, never set down alone in the midst of a county as in the South. Within the town there may be villages, or boroughs, or even cities. Until a few years ago the town of Norwalk, even included two cities, Norwalk and South Norwalk, as well as a stretch of country that was merely town. Nowadays a city may be co-extensive with its town, and usually is, but when President Dwight wrote his statistical account of New Haven the city, as we have seen, comprised but six square miles out of the eighteen in the town of New Haven, and of those six miles but one square mile was thickly settled. When we say, therefore, that a town manufactured any article, we must remember that even in the largest towns the industry affected only a small proportion of the people. We shall see in what parts, if anywhere, there were real "manufacturing villages."

¹⁰ P. and N. Account of Groton.

CHAPTER II

MANUFACTURES IN 1818

MANUFACTURES THAT LIGHTENED HOME WORK

Textiles

By 1818 there were 67 cotton mills and 66 woolen mills in Connecticut.¹¹ After the invention of power machinery for textiles it was not long before cloth making began to be taken out of the home, even in the back country. We have Pease and Niles as authority for the statement that in 1818 most of the families outside of the cities wove most of their own cloth; but the cotton and woolen mills all over the state are evidence that this was beginning to change, at least to the extent that the spinning was often done outside. Perhaps these were mills which made the best cloth. There is no evidence in Pease and Niles that any of them sent their cloth out of town or made it except for customers.

Besides these small mills, however, there were larger establishments making cloth of fine quality, mills that during the war had provided a substitute for the cloth formerly brought from England. The first and largest was the mill at Humphreysville, in what was then the town of Derby, now Seymour. It was incorporated in 1810 as "The Humphreysville Manufacturing Company";¹² the incorporators being David Humphrey, Oliver Wolcott, and Thomas Vose. General David Humphrey was a graduate of Yale College in 1771; he served in the revolutionary war and afterwards became minister to the court of Portugal, and later to the court of Spain. He returned to this country in 1802 and enthusiastically introduced into New England the breed of merino sheep, thus greatly improving the quality of the wool that could be produced. The woolen mill was established in 1803 and, as we have seen, incorporated in 1810. General Humphrey was a philanthropist and was much afraid that the textile mills of America might have as dire effects upon the

¹¹ P. and N., pp. 16, 17.

¹² Conn. Statutes, May session, 1810.

children employed in them as had been revealed in the disclosures concerning the English cotton mills. He therefore built cottages for his workmen and tried in every way to make Humphreysville a model village. He inserted in the act of incorporation the following provision:

"It shall be the duty of the president and directors of said corporation to provide an instructor, for at least three months in each year, for the purpose of teaching the children employed in the manufactory, to read and write, and also the first four rules of arithmetic, and in religion, morals, and manners, as is by law directed to be taught in other schools."

Three years later the Assembly, possibly at the instance of General Humphrey, passed a law extending the contents of this provision to all present and future manufacturing establishments in the state and appointing the civil authority and selectmen of towns within which factories or manufacturing establishments existed, or a committee appointed by them, a board of visitors to see that the law was carried out.¹³ Pease and Niles say of the Humphreysville mill:

"The woolen manufactures of Humphreysville are known throughout the United States, and have acquired a reputation, at least equal to that of any other in this country. There is also a Cotton Factory at this village, belonging to this incorporated manufacturing company; a Paper Mill, and a Grain Mill. At some periods, the company have had in their employ, at the Woolen, Cotton, and other manufacturing interests at this village, nearly 200 workmen."

We must admit, then, that here at least was a manufacturing village in 1818, but we must admit, too, that it was rather artificial.

Another large mill was in Wolcottville in the town of Torrington, the property of Oliver Wolcott, one of the incorporators of the Humphreysville company, and in 1818 the governor of the state. Here, we are told, were employed forty hands. They made 25 to 35 yards of broadcloth daily, at \$6 a yard. "The cloths are scarcely inferior to the highest finished English cloths." At Goshen were two woolen mills employing each 15 or 20 persons: "The fabrics have considerable local celebrity."

¹³ Connecticut Statutes, May session, 1813.

At Danbury, too, where there were already 28 hat factories, and thus many men who were earning wages, there were two woolen mills "on a large scale."

The home of the textile industry in Connecticut, however, was in the eastern half of the state, up and down the Quinebaug and Shetucket rivers and, below their junction, on the Thames. Here it was really an "industry," a part of the same textile industry that was becoming important in Rhode Island at the same time. Here, if anywhere in the state, cloth was made for export, but how much of it was exported from the town in which it was made we do not know. The following table gives an idea of the situation of the textile industry in eastern Connecticut in 1818-1820. The statistics of the mills are from Pease and Niles. The statistics of population and operatives are from the census of 1820, which is unreliable.¹⁴

Town	Mills	Population	Engaged in M'f'ure
Killingly	4 cotton, 5000 spindles 1 wool	2803	187
Plainfield	4 cotton 2 wool	2097	134
Pomfret	1 extensive cotton 1 small wool	2042	125
Sterling	3 cotton, 1 extensive	1200	84
Thompson	3 cotton, 5000 spindles	2928	281
Norwich	1 cotton, 1200 spindles wool, paper, distillery, leather	3634	353
Griswold	3 cotton	1869	144
Mansfield	2 cotton 2 wool steelyards, augurs, horn combs, sewing silk	2993	166
Glastonbury	1 cotton, large 1 wool, cloth as good as any in U. S.	3114	185
Vernon	1 woolen 2 cotton	966	54

¹⁴ Federal Census, p. 259. "The industrial census of 1820, although conducted on a schedule which contained the principal questions of present inquiry, was even more unsatisfactory than that of 1810." "The digest prepared in the office of the Secretary of State was so imperfect an exhibit that the Secretary was only constrained to permit its publication by the imperative nature of the resolution of Congress calling for it."

Iron

In the northwest corner of the state, in Litchfield County, was a development of the iron industry which at the time of which we are treating was taking over some of the work of the local blacksmiths. Out of the 48 forges in the state, 39 were in Litchfield County.¹⁵ The mines were in Kent and Salisbury. Fortunately for the development of the mines, the Litchfield hills were well covered with wood. The center of this area of iron industry was Salisbury. Here there were three forges and two blast furnaces, one anchor and screw manufactory, one scythe manufactory, three shops with hammers operated by water power for the manufacture of gun barrels, sleigh shoes, hoes, and so forth.

In Kent besides the mines there were seven forges, manufacturing 100 tons annually. "These mines, and the manufactures and various interests which depend upon them, afford employment to industry, a stimulus to enterprise, and are sources of considerable wealth to the town," writes the correspondent from Kent. Salisbury iron was carried into the town of Canaan, which had eight forges, seven anchor shops, and two furnaces. Canaan had another industry as well, several limekilns from which a large quantity of lime was sent away for a market.

In Barkhamstead was a furnace for casting cart and wagon boxes, clock bells, and some other small articles. In Litchfield, four forges, a slitting mill, and a nail factory were at work. In Norfolk were two forges manufacturing bar iron, anchors, mill irons, cart and wagon tires, sleigh shoes, and so forth. In Washington were two forges, one slitting mill, one nail factory, and two trip hammers.

Of these iron manufactures the greater part were such as would be used on any farm, cart and wagon tires, sleigh shoes, nails, scythes, and hoes. How many of these were sent outside the county we do not know. Certain of the products would have been of no use there, such as the anchors made in the anchor shops of Salisbury, Canaan, and Norfolk, and must have been

¹⁵ P. and N., p. 15.

carted down to tide water. The clock bells of Barkhamstead were probably taken to Plymouth or Winchester, where there were clock shops. The gun barrels of Salisbury's three water-power shops could not have been made into guns nearer than the Whitney gun factory in Hamden, on the outskirts of New Haven.

There was some manufacture of iron outside of Litchfield County, as in Chatham on the Connecticut River, where there were six small furnaces for casting bells and cart and wagon boxes. Bells, mentioned also in Litchfield County, are now one of Connecticut's hardware specialties, and most of them are still made in Chatham. In Stafford, in Tolland County, there was a more important iron business, consisting of two furnaces for making castings and hollow ware. "Hollow ware" was iron cooking utensils, such as pots and kettles. The castings were cannon, cannon balls and shot, and "small articles." The output of the two furnaces was about 200 tons annually, and we are told that hollow ware cost \$60 a ton in 1810 and solid castings 5 cents a pound. The iron used in these furnaces came from Stafford itself and was of the kind known as bog iron, particularly ductile and easily worked.

Milling

Along the southern coast of the state, west of New Haven, was another extension on a profitable scale of a widespread local industry. This was flour milling. In Stratford, the town of which Bridgeport was then a part, there were three merchants' mills for flouring wheat, grinding Indian corn and "plaster paris." In Norwalk were five grain mills, of which two were merchants' flouring mills. In Fairfield nine grain mills imported the raw material and exported the product. In Stamford there were two mills manufacturing for export exclusively, besides seven others. Hardly an item in the Pease and Niles *Gazetteer* shows more strikingly the change which has come over Connecticut in the last hundred years, than this report of Connecticut as a flour-exporting state.

MANUFACTURES PRIMARILY FOR PROFIT

Distilling

As far back as colonial days, distilling was one of Connecticut's most profitable undertakings. Then, however, West India molasses was made into rum. In 1818 there were in the state, according to Pease and Niles, 178 distilleries, of which 10 are stated to have been gin distilleries. Of the others, 68 are known to have been cider distilleries and probably many of the other hundred were the same. The distilleries were located in all parts of the state, being almost as well distributed as the grist mills and fulling mills, but the principal seat of the industry was in Hartford County. The compilers of the *Gazetteer* say that spirituous liquors distilled from domestic materials were the most important export of the state and were sent to New York, Boston, Providence, the South, and foreign countries.¹⁶

The towns which most actively pursued this industry were Enfield, East Windsor, and Windsor, on both sides of the Connecticut above Hartford. According to Pease and Niles, "these towns have engaged so extensively in the manufacture and taken the lead of all others, it is not improbable that some one of them may ultimately become the Scheidam of America." They add in a footnote that Scheidam is a town in Holland famous for its gin. They rather question the propriety of making gin,¹⁷ since "of the general policy and influence of this manufacture, in a pecuniary, moral, and social point of view, very different opinions prevail." But they quiet uneasy consciences by observing that "with regard to the use of ardent spirits, it is by no means an established theorem, that its local manufacture increases its local consumption." They add, too, that the industry creates a market for grain and wood and that a thousand head of beeves and also swine are fattened at the distilleries of Hartford County.¹⁸

East Windsor took the lead among the three towns that made

¹⁶ P. and N., p. 13.

¹⁷ P. and N., p. 37.

¹⁸ P. and N., pp. 14, 15.

gin so extensively. Here were six gin distilleries, four being extensive. The town made more spirits, especially at Warehouse Point, than any other town in the country, and paid \$23,913 duties in 1816. In this town, besides the distilleries, there was also one "segar" factory on an extensive scale, the sole representative in the state at that time of what is now an important industry.

In Enfield were five more gin distilleries, three of them extensive. This town boasted a second interest, the making of ploughs. Of these, besides enough to satisfy the home and neighboring town demand, there were made \$20,000 worth annually which were sent to the Southern states. Pease and Niles say that these are the most exported of the state's wooden manufactures—an indirect evidence of the quality of ploughing that our ancestors must have done.

Hats

Another industry that dated from colonial times was hat making. As long ago as 1731 the London hatters had petitioned that the colonists be forbidden to export these articles. Hatting, as a business, began in Danbury as early as 1780, and by 1818, the town contained 28 of the state's 41 hat shops. The product was a rough hat of felted fur, still made almost entirely by hand. In a book entitled "One Hundred Years of Progress," published in 1871, we read:

"Within our own recollection, the hatter in almost every village made the hats he sold, felting his own materials and forming the bodies over his blocks, and covering with them the stiff and clumsy cylinders of pasteboard, shaped, as near as might be, to the prevailing forms of the day."¹⁹

Except that the hatters of Danbury made their hats to sell in the New York market, we cannot suppose that their methods were very different from those here described. The coming in of improved machinery is suggested by the report that in Lyme were two hat factories which had bowing machines. In East Hartford was a hat factory "where the principal part of the

¹⁹ One Hundred Years of Progress, p. 348.

labour" was "performed by machinery moved by water—for which the proprietors" had "a patent right."

Having disposed of these early industries of Connecticut, of which only the making of textiles and the making of hats are important in the twentieth century, we come next to those industries which are now characteristic of the state, the manufactures which are more valuable for the work done on them than for the raw materials that go into them—hardware and clocks, "Yankee notions," and plated ware and brass—all of them, as it happens, confined almost entirely to the west center of the state.

Metal Wares

The first of these, historically, was tinware. In 1740 a tinner from Ireland, named Patterson, came to Berlin and built up a considerable business in making kitchen tinware, a trade which he taught to his sons and some other young men of Berlin.²⁰ For the vending of these wares there grew up the class of men who made Connecticut known all over the country, the Yankee peddlers. From the highly developed business sense of these men Connecticut got the unsavory reputation under which she labored for many years, and perhaps has not even yet outgrown.

Even before the Revolution the young men of Berlin and neighboring towns started out with packs on their backs to peddle their tin pans and kettles up and down the roads of Connecticut. After the Revolution their operations extended further and reached the distant parts of New York and the Southern States. Gradually they added to their packs "Yankee notions," such as buttons and combs, and clocks, carrying them in horse-drawn wagons. From Berlin the making of tinware spread to the other towns of the state, especially Meriden, Southington, Simsbury, and others in Hartford and New Haven counties, as Wallingford, Cheshire, Bristol, and Hartford. The shops were usually small but some of the owners had "invested extensively."

The clock making business of Connecticut is said to have

²⁰ Timothy Dwight, *Travels*. Vol. II, pp. 53-55.

begun at Bristol under Gideon Roberts as far back as 1774. The clocks of those days were the tall ones with wooden wheels, familiar to all of us. In the first forty years of the nineteenth century changes in the construction of clocks revolutionized the industry. The names Eli Terry, Seth Thomas, and Chauncey Jerome stand out from among the names of the ordinary village clockmakers by reason of their successive inventions:²¹ the wall clock, the shelf clock, the "Pillar scroll top case," and finally the clock with rolled brass works, one of the early triumphs of the principle of "interchangeable parts." Though this did not come until a little before 1840, the inventor, Chauncey Jerome, was already in 1818 making clocks by hand in Plymouth and carrying them on his own back to the towns fifteen or twenty miles away to sell. There were in Bristol at this time several shops making wooden clocks and one making brass clocks (not rolled brass) at the rate of 2,000 a year, almost all of which were exported to the Southern and Western states, presumably in peddlers' packs. Besides these, the *Gazetteer* reports two clock factories in Waterbury and one each in Winchester and Stafford.

An outgrowth of the tinware industry, perhaps, was the making of silver plate in Berlin and also in Bridgeport. Prophetic of the britannia ware of later days were the factories for making block tin or "hard-metal" spoons, of which there were two each in Meriden and Wallingford. In the report from Meriden, which also made for export tinware, buttons, and combs, we read:

"It has been estimated that there are from 20 to 40 persons that are constantly employed in vending the wares that are manufactured in this town. Most of them are employed in the southern and western states, which afford an extensive market for the products of our industry. And this market will not be likely soon to fail; for wherever slavery prevails, mechanical ingenuity and industry will be excluded."

Of the articles comprised under the head of "Yankee notions," buttons and combs were the most important. Combs were made in New Haven, Bridgeport, Litchfield, Middletown, and Mansfield; these were of horn. Combs of vegetable ivory

²¹ One Hundred Years of Progress, p. 369.

were made in Saybrook and in Meriden. This same factory in Saybrook made a large quantity of ivory button moulds. Buttons were made in the same towns that we have found making tinware and clocks, and in one or two others besides: Hartford, Berlin, Bristol, Southington, Salisbury, Middletown, and especially in Meriden, Wallingford, and Waterbury. In Meriden there were three, and in Waterbury two, factories making metal buttons, and these are the first signs of the modern rolled brass industry of Connecticut. It was in response to this demand for rolled brass in button making that the brass rolling mills of the Naugatuck valley were started. There were two brass foundries, for the making of cast brass, one in Berlin and one in Derby.

Small iron hardware was at this time exported from the state in very small quantity, if at all. As we have seen there was a screw factory in Salisbury; and other small articles, not named individually, were cast in various places. Steelyards, augurs, and screws were made in Mansfield, and there were five wire factories in Granby and Simsbury. The absence of reports of hardware factories is indirect evidence that the blacksmiths were still making articles of this kind for their individual customers.

Other Manufactures

The machinery made in the state was all for use in textiles. In Hartford was a machine card factory doing a business of \$10,000 a year, and in Coventry was another manufactory of carding machines. In New Hartford, in Litchfield County, was an "extensive" manufactory for making carding, shearing, and spinning machinery.

On the other hand, the making of munitions of war was well developed for the time. There were eight or ten powder mills in East Hartford, cannon and shot were cast in Stafford, gun barrels were cast in Salisbury and were welded in Haddam. In Berlin there were two pistol factories, and in Middletown were a powder mill, a pistol factory, a rifle factory, and a sword factory. These were sold chiefly to the United States govern-

ment. Perhaps the most important firearm enterprise in the state, however, was the Whitney gun factory in the town of Hamden, just beyond the New Haven town line.

When Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin was disputed and the resulting litigation deprived him of any hope of obtaining money from that invention, he turned to the making of guns for the United States government. He secured a contract for 2000 and then found himself unable to get workmen of sufficient skill to make the locks of the guns. He overcame this difficulty by putting to practical use the principle of "interchangeable parts." Here in his gun factory he split lockmaking into many different acts, each one so simple that an unskilled workman was all that was needed. His workmen made each one simple part of a lock and Whitney was able to secure such uniformity in the parts thus made that all that was necessary for a perfect lock was to assemble the parts when they left the workmen's hands.

The other manufacturing industries of Connecticut at this time do not require extended mention. New Haven, as we have seen, made a few carriages for export, as did also the town of Burlington in Hartford County. Leather goods, a considerable portion of which were sent abroad, were made in Hartford, Bridgeport, and many towns in Fairfield County. Glass bottles were made in East Hartford and Coventry.

The two industries that were then carried on under the domestic system were shoemaking and the making of straw braid bonnets. The three towns of Guilford, Durham, and New Canaan made shoes "extensively." Sixty thousand pairs were exported annually from New Canaan, and even more were made in Guilford. Durham exported a considerable quantity to the Southern States. The manufacture of straw braid and bonnets was mentioned only in the town of Stafford. The comment of the Stafford correspondent is interesting as showing the contemporary attitude toward "woman in industry":

"Large quantities of straw braid and bonnets are made and sent abroad for a market, which is equally important, regarded as a source of

profit, or as a means of promoting female industry and habits of attention to business, and a consequent abstraction from light and frivolous occupations and amusements, or the more unwarrantable employment of local detraction."

These, then, were the manufactures of Connecticut in 1818. What did they all amount to? We have no figures in Pease and Niles as to the aggregate value of manufactures, and the figures of the census of 1820 are known to be inaccurate. If we could believe them we should say that the manufactures of Connecticut amounted in 1820 to \$2,067,000. It must be remembered, however, that in those days many things were classed as "manufactures" which would not now be so classed.

We know in what towns manufacturing had begun. These were the textile towns of the east, the towns of Litchfield County where iron was made, the towns along the coast where there was a small amount of flour milling carried on, Danbury with its hats, and the towns of the center of the state where industry was diversified: Hartford, Middletown, Berlin, Meriden, Wallingford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Bristol, Plymouth, Waterbury, and Derby. Between Waterbury and Derby the Naugatuck Valley, now almost completely given over to the brass and rubber industries, was purely rural. Bridgeport was growing rapidly but it has not entered our summary as pre-eminent in anything, nor was New Haven. Within these towns there were doubtless a number of small villages where a considerable proportion of the people were employed more or less continuously at manufacturing for a market, but we cannot assert that in any *town* enough people were employed in manufactures to permit us to call it a manufacturing town.

CHAPTER III

MANUFACTURING PROSPECTS

We have seen how far manufacturing had progressed in 1818. The next question is, what were the prospects for its further development? We can answer without hesitation that Connecticut had almost all the necessary factors of manufacturing growth. The state is roughly a rectangle ninety miles long and fifty-five miles wide, and has an area of slightly less than five thousand square miles. It is divided into three well defined parts: the valley of the Connecticut in the center, with an upland region on each side. Each of these uplands is drained by two rivers which unite about ten miles before they reach Long Island Sound. In the eastern upland the Quinebaug and the Shetucket come together at Norwich and make the Thames, which reaches the Sound at New London. In the west, the Naugatuck and the Housatonic come together at Derby and flow into the Sound at Stratford.

In the rocks which cover her fields and in her plentiful lakes, Connecticut still carries the marks of the glacier which once covered her. Except in the Connecticut valley the land is rocky and not very fertile. There are only two good harbors, New London and New Haven, but the Thames is navigable to Norwich and the Connecticut to Hartford.

The state had the natural advantage of excellent water-power. The Connecticut, running down a level valley, offered, it is true, no waterfalls and was too wide within this state for a dam. The rivers of the uplands, however, were smaller and had a steep drop to the sea, a drop of about 600 feet in the valley of the Housatonic. Behind these rivers were inexhaustible reservoirs in the wooded hills and the many lakes; Connecticut rivers will run mills all the year round.

Connecticut had, likewise, good transportation facilities for those days. Her big central river was navigable two-thirds of the distance to the Massachusetts line and made an outlet for the center of the state. The rivers of the east and west were navigable

able for ten or fifteen miles, and all along the southern shore were harbors that are not now considered very good, but they were good enough for the boats of those days. There were turnpike roads to all the larger towns of the state; six of these centered in New Haven. After 1816 steamers went regularly twice a week between New York and New London and New Haven.

Such market as there was Connecticut could easily reach. New York was already a distributing point, and Southern planters came to it to get their plantation supplies. The South did not yet, it is true, present a very large market, but as we know now, it was one that grew, and even in 1818 it was the destination of many of Connecticut's exports.

Connecticut's supreme resource for manufacturing development was in the character of her population. Since colonial days she had shown a surplus population and had been sending emigrants all over the country.²² They went to Dutchess and Columbia counties in New York, which lie just west of the western Connecticut counties, to the Wyoming Valley in northeast Pennsylvania, to Vermont, where the towns repeat thirty-five of the names of Connecticut towns, and finally to western New York and the Connecticut Western Reserve in Ohio. Pease and Niles estimate that the Connecticut emigrants with their descendants number 700,000 people, and though we cannot admit this figure it is clear that the emigration had been very large. In spite of emigration, however, Connecticut had maintained her population, though her gain for the last three decades had been slight. From 1790 to 1800 she had gained 5.5%, from 1800 to 1810 4.4%, and from 1810 to 1820 5%. In 1820 she had a population whose density of about 57 per square mile was exceeded only by that of Rhode Island. This constant emigration, coupled with the maintenance but not expansion of population at home, is evidence that Connecticut had reached the limit of her power to support by agriculture, under the agricultural conditions of that time, a larger number of people than she already had. Her

²² P. and N., p. 11.

population in 1820 was 275,248; and any considerable increase of population in the future must be based on a change in the occupation of her inhabitants.

The people who were living in Connecticut in 1820 were eminently well fitted for manufacturing. They were ingenious and well educated, and had always, even while living in their isolated town groups, maintained a fairly high standard of living. Every farmer was a skilled mechanic as well. In the villages the blacksmiths, as we have seen, were deterred by none of the difficulties of making ordinary hardware. The result of all the household manufacture that was carried on was a huge fund of mechanical skill and aptitude ready and anxious to turn to any pursuit which would make it easier to earn a living.

On the other hand the state was poorly supplied with raw material. Neither her distilleries nor her flour mills could expand very much on the amount of grain Connecticut farms would produce; the iron mines of Litchfield County were as good as any in New England, but they were not good enough to compete with the mines soon to be opened in New Jersey. Copper and all other metals are found in the state but in quantities too small to pay for the working. Cotton, of course, had to be imported. We cannot say the same of wool, but to this day Connecticut farmers would rather raise dogs than sheep, and though for a number of years sheep raising was carried on extensively, little came of the promise given in 1818 that the state would raise a large quantity of fine merino wool. This lack must not be overestimated, however, for an ingenious people with transportation facilities is never daunted by want of raw material. Another obstacle to the development of manufactures was the lack of capital. The description of New Haven, quoted on page 6, shows us that even in the largest city of the state there was but little accumulated capital.

We must next see what changes took place in the state in the next twenty-seven years. We choose this interval because in 1845 the state government took a census of the various branches of industry carried on within the state, and again we have an

account, town by town. The full title of the report is, "Statistics of the Condition and Products of certain Branches of Industry in Connecticut, for the year ending October 1, 1845." It is referred to briefly as "Connecticut Statistics, 1845." The figures on which the report is based were compiled from the returns of the town assessors by Daniel P. Tyler, Secretary of State, and we may fairly trust them for accuracy. The book was compiled hurriedly, however, which accounts for one or two easily discovered inaccuracies. On the whole, computations based on study of the towns give exactly the same figures as the condensed tables in the back of the book.

In the twenty-seven years with which we are now dealing Connecticut made some important advances in transportation facilities. In 1824 and 1825 steamers from New York began making daily trips to New Haven, Bridgeport, Norwalk, and Stamford. It is said that competition was so brisk that the fare between Norwalk and New York was reduced to 12½ cents.²³

The Farmington Canal was opened in 1828 from New Haven to Cheshire and Farmington.²⁴ In 1829 it was extended north to Westfield, Massachusetts, and in 1835 it reached the Connecticut River at Northampton. The canal was opened with high hopes that it would do as much for the state as the Erie Canal had done for New York, but it was never very profitable. It was abandoned in 1847 and its bed was used for the route of the "Canal Railroad" from New Haven to Northampton.

Traffic east and west being well served by the steamboats on the Sound, it was natural that the early railroads of Connecticut should run north and south and connect with the Western Railroad, now the Boston and Albany, the line which carried New England products to the Erie Canal and the West.

The first stretch of railroad in the state was opened in 1837 and was the western part of the New York, Providence, and Boston Railroad.²⁵ It went through Connecticut only from the

²³ Connecticut as a Colony and a State. Vol. 3, p. 285.

²⁴ Barber, History and Antiquities of New Haven, p. 48.

²⁵ Connecticut as a Colony and a State. Vol. 3, p. 290.

state line to Stonington, and the connection with New York was made by steamboat. The first north and south road was opened from New Haven to Meriden in 1838 and from Meriden to Hartford the next year; it was extended to Springfield and the Western Railroad in 1844. The line from Worcester to Norwich and New London was opened in 1839 and 1840, and between 1840 and 1842 the Housatonic Road was opened from Bridgeport to Sheffield, Massachusetts. There were therefore by 1845 three railway lines crossing the whole width of Connecticut, giving it easy access to the West by way of the Western Railroad.

Connecticut's rate of growth of population will be better realized if it is compared with the rates of Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the same years:

	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.
1820-1830	16.6%	17.0%	8.1%
1830-1840	20.8%	11.9%	4.1%
1840-1850	34.9%	35.6%	19.6%

Clearly, Connecticut was not growing nearly so fast as her neighbors. Her population in 1840 was 309,792, as compared with 275,248 in 1820.

CHAPTER IV

MANUFACTURES IN 1845²⁶*Textiles*

There were by this time 136 cotton mills in the state, as compared with 67 in 1818, and 119 woolen mills as against 66. The eastern side of the state was still the textile side, but cotton and woolen mills were scattered through the western half of the state quite as much as before. From the numbers of persons employed in these mills we infer that weaving had almost completely left the homes. There were 1854 persons employed in cotton and woolen mills outside of New London, Tolland, and Windham counties and 5656 within them. The following were the principal textile towns, 1845:

Town	Mills	Spindles	No. Employed
Killingly	16 cotton	23,310	650
Plainfield	7 cotton	11,012	312
	4 wool		100
Norwich	7 cotton	17,332	633
	3 wool		228
Sterling	4 cotton	5,578	173
Thompson	9 cotton	21,698	445
Griswold	9 cotton	13,700	310
Glastonbury	2 cotton	5,690	190
Vernon	10 wool		278

Within the textile industry there was now far more diversification than in 1818. The cotton cloths are listed as drills, shirtings, prints, ginghams; the woolen cloths as broadcloth, cassimere, Kentucky Jeans, flannel, blanketing, and tweeds. A particularly popular weave was satinete, a mixture of cotton and wool.

The manufacture of cotton thread was well started by 1845. In Windham, where in 1818 there were no manufactures listed, the village of Willimantic had come up and now made annually 45,000 dozen spools of thread besides 50,000 yards of shirtings.

²⁶ Connecticut Statistics, 1845. The entries in this book are arranged alphabetically by towns within the counties, and can easily be verified. The tables in this chapter have been made up from town entries. Further references to this will not be made in these notes.

In Willington's one cotton mill 24,000 dozen spools of thread were made by 19 employees. Killingly, Plainfield, and Pomfret also made thread.

In Norwich two establishments bleached and colored 3,900,000 yards of cloth. In Hartland, one of the very rural towns of 1818, there was an establishment which printed 2,000,000 yards of calico a year and employed 46 persons.

There were six carpet factories operating on a large scale as follows:

	No. Factories	Output	Employees
Thompsonville	2	350,000 yards	500
(Town of Enfield)			
Simsbury	1	234,000 yards	329
Norwich	3	107,000 yards	83

In Enfield, too, there was a factory making 300,000 pairs of stockinet shirts and drawers in a year, and employing 100 workers, probably many of them at home.

In 1818 sewing silk was made in Mansfield only, but in 1845 it was made in Willington, Windsor, and Manchester as well. Manchester was a new town which had been cut out of the eastern part of East Hartford in 1823. The silk business there in 1845 employed 69 persons in making 13,200 pounds of sewing silk. This enterprise was conducted by the firm of Cheney Brothers, established in 1838.

In Norwich, there were more textile workers than in any other town. There were other industries as well: four paper factories, employing 182 persons, three iron foundries, and two clothing shops employing 103 persons, besides various other establishments.

Iron

In Litchfield County the iron industry was barely holding its own. In Kent the three furnaces for pig iron employed 280 and were making 3,000 tons as compared with 100 tons made in 1818, but the manufactures of iron show no such increase. In Salisbury scythes were still made and cutlery and ploughs as well, but anchors and screws are no longer men-

tioned, nor were anchors any longer made in Canaan. In Winsted, town of Winchester, the proprietors now had added to their smelting forges the manufacture of shovels, spades, and scythes, and had a machine factory employing 18 men.

Making iron ware for the farms was carried on in a small way in many towns of the state. The establishments for making ploughs and shovels, forks, and hoes seldom employed more than five persons. Scythe making was more concentrated; only ten scythe manufactories are listed and of the 93 workers in these, 80 were employed in the five establishments in Salisbury and Winchester. Axes were made in 21 towns of the state, but in only two was axe-making in any way important. In Derby the two axe factories employed 47 men. In the village of Collinsville, in the town of Canton, the Collins Company was already making axes on a large scale. Their factory employed even then 175 men and made 198,000 axes a year. This firm at the present time employs five hundred or more men and still conducts most of the business in Collinsville. One of its specialties nowadays is making machetes for the Mexicans.

In 1845 the milling industry along the sound had died out altogether. The towns where this had gone on—Stratford, Norwalk, Fairfield, and Stamford—were growing and prospering, but by this time they were making other things: boots and shoes, hats, and coaches and wagons especially, as well as some iron work. The same fate had overtaken the distilleries of Hartford County. In Enfield, the town which had formerly paid more internal revenue than any other in the country, only five men were making gin. The making of ploughs in that town employed 26 men still, but the annual value of the product had fallen from \$20,000 to \$15,000. In place of these operations, however, had come up the making of carpet and hosiery.

Hats

Danbury was still the center of the hat-making business. It had now 57 hat and cap factories instead of 28, and was employing 658 men. The development of machinery had brought in as well the subsidiary occupations of making hat bodies and

blowing and cleaning fur, which together employed more than sixty men of the town. That Danbury no longer had a complete monopoly of this industry, however, is shown by the number of men employed at hat and cap making in the following towns: Norwalk, 83; Newton, 56; Monroe, 55; Redding, 53; Ridgefield, 46; Brookfield, 22; Wilton, 25. All of these are in Fairfield County; in all, sixteen towns in this county report hat making.

None of these industries, with the exception of hat making, had shown in any great growth between 1818 and 1845. The textiles had grown but not to any such extent as the same industry in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The other industries had positively declined.

Light Metal Wares

It was in the making of her light metal wares that Connecticut had made real progress since 1818, and more and more the towns in the center of the state, in the district bounded roughly by lines drawn from Hartford to New Haven, to Bridgeport, to Waterbury, to Hartford, were absorbing the state's manufacturing growth. In all these towns—Hartford, East Hartford, Middletown, Berlin, Meriden, Wallingford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Derby, Naugatuck, Waterbury, Plymouth, Bristol, and Southington—industry was diversified, but there were specialties even in these.

The number of things manufactured in any one of these towns is so great that it is bewildering to take them town by town and repeat what was made in each. Somewhat greater orderliness is secured by going over the different industries and pointing out where they were carried on most extensively.

In fifty towns tinware was made, and there were 101 tinware factories listed. Many of them employed only one man and many more but three or four. In only a few towns was it a business large enough to make a product for export or for sale in any but the local market. The towns where tinware making was of any importance were as follows:

	No. Factories	Value Annual Output	Employees
Meriden	9	\$112,500	96
Hartford	5	50,000	38
New Haven	8	37,000	35
Bridgeport	3	28,000	14
Enfield	3	39,000	16
Berlin	3	16,000	18

The one clock factory in New Haven, probably the largest single clock factory at that time, was the property of Chauncey Jerome, where he was making large numbers of inexpensive clocks with rolled brass works. The following table explains the status of clock making:

	No. Fact.	No. Clocks Manufactured (no return)	Value Annual Output	Employees
Bristol	15		\$325,000	250
Plymouth	5	95,500	191,000	200
New Haven.....	1	41,000	105,000	90
Eurlington	2	36,000	72,000	30
Winchester	1	12,000	30,000	30
Southington	2		16,000	22
Farmington	4	9,500	19,000	18

Plated silver ware was made as follows:

	No. Factories	Value Annual Output	Employees
Granby	1	\$100,000	60
Hartford	4	44,500	45
New Haven.....	4	35,000	43
Bridgeport	4	10,000	13

In Wallingford German silver and white metal spoons were made to some extent, and more Britannia ware was made in Meriden and Wallingford than in any other towns; Meriden's eight shops employed 37 people and did an annual business of \$49,000, and Wallingford's three employed 24, with an annual value of product of \$30,000. Other towns which made this ware were Middletown, Hartford, New Haven, East Haddam, Rocky Hill, Cheshire, and Prospect.

*Brass*²⁷

In 1818 buttons had been almost the only manufacture in

²⁷ Lathrop, *The Brass Industry in Connecticut*, passim.

which brass was used in Connecticut, so far as we are told in Pease and Niles, though from the local histories we learn that a few small articles were then being cast from brass. By 1845 the two brass foundries of 1818 had been increased to forty-eight, of which six were in Waterbury and employed 297 persons, and 14 were in Berlin and employed 197. The report "Connecticut Statistics" fails utterly to make the vital distinctions between brass foundries and brass rolling mills. Brass foundries make brass for castings, and brass rolling mills make sheet brass and wire. It is in this latter manufacture of brass that Connecticut is preëminent. The sheet brass and wire are remanufactured into buttons, pins, hooks and eyes, and many other things. The making of rolled brass began in response to the need for this in making brass buttons. Outside the Connecticut market, the demand for brass of this kind in the whole United States barely exceeded 150 or 200 tons a year. This demand the Waterbury pioneers in the button-making industry determined to fill. By the time they had succeeded in making a good brass, they had facilities for making more than the existing market could use. Accordingly, they were driven to re-manufacturing their own product. Soon new uses for it developed, the first being in clock works; and ever since, as fast as the brass makers of the Naugatuck Valley have become able to meet or exceed the demand for brass, new uses have come up to absorb the product.

In 1845 there were forty-two button factories in the state, some making buttons of brass and some making them of bone or wood. Of these, fifteen were in Waterbury, ten for making metal buttons and five for making "flexible" buttons, of what material it is not stated. The annual output of these button factories was about 330,000 gross, at a value of \$291,000, and 380 persons of the town were employed at this industry. Just below Waterbury, on the Naugatuck River, was the new town of Naugatuck; here there were eight button factories, four making metal buttons.

A pin factory in Waterbury made 200,000 packs a year and

employed 80 persons, and another in Derby made 150,000 pounds of pins a year and employed 70 persons. Both of these factories were using the newly invented machine for sticking pins in papers. A brass-wire manufacture unknown in 1818 was the making of hooks and eyes. One factory in Derby made 70,000,000 hooks and eyes a year, valued at \$44,000, and employed 60 persons. In Berlin there were 136 persons making hooks and eyes. In these and other towns various articles of brass were being made in small quantities: combs, buckles, eyelet rings, umbrella and clock trimmings, mouse and rat traps, snaps, and kettles.

Hardware

The extent to which hardware making was carried on in 1845 will be best shown by the following table giving the numbers employed in making the different articles in the towns where the industry was most important:

CUTLERY		BUTTS AND HINGES	
Meriden	50	Waterbury	25
Wethersfield	45	Middletown	15
Waterbury	35	New Haven	6
Bristol	26		
LATCHES AND DOOR HANDLES, KNOBS		LOCKS	
New Haven	115	Plymouth	38
Meriden	30	Berlin	34
Berlin	10	Middletown	17
		Torrington	10
TACKS AND BRADS		SCREWS	
Derby	28	Chester	52
		Hartford	35
FIREARMS		MACHINERY	
Hamden	30	Hartford	45
Norwich	55	Windham	69
Middletown	75	Killingly	26
		Bristol	25

Other iron manufactures in the towns of the central counties were saws and rivets in Farmington; wagon bolts in Southington; files, carriage springs, steps, and bolts in New Haven; gimlets in Cheshire and North Haven; and rakes, skates, sickles,

window springs, steelyards, portable balance scales, and vises in Meriden.

Carriages and Wagons

The making of coaches and wagons had begun in New Haven in 1818; by 1845 it was her most important industry and it remained so until after the Civil War. In 1845 there were 24 establishments making carriages and wagons, employing 460 persons and having an output valued at \$553,000 a year. Bridgeport came next as a carriage-making town, with four shops, where 169 persons were employed and the value of the output was said to be \$153,253 a year. Twenty-six towns altogether are reported as making coaches and wagons but only these two conducted the business on any considerable scale. Saddlery and harness making were carried on chiefly in Bridgeport and Hartford.

India Rubber

In addition to these industries another had arisen, the result of a recent invention. To Charles Goodyear, born in New Haven and brought up in Naugatuck, the world owes the beginning of successful use of india rubber. After nine years of experiment with the sticky, easily decomposed material, in 1839 Goodyear discovered that he could cure the rubber perfectly by the mixture of sulphur with the rubber at a temperature of 270 degrees Fahrenheit. This process he named vulcanizing and he secured a patent on it. By this time his friends were tired of putting money into inventions which had always until now proved ineffectual, and it was not until 1843 that the first factory using the Goodyear patents was opened. This was in Naugatuck, Connecticut, and was the property of Goodyear's brother, Henry Goodyear.²⁸ In 1845 the industry had a good start in Connecticut for the real value of vulcanizing rubber quickly became apparent. At this time india rubber was used chiefly in making suspenders and rubber shoes. The latter were made in Naugatuck, New

²⁸ Peirce, *Life of Charles Goodyear*, p. 123 ff.

Haven, and Hamden, and suspenders were made in Middletown, Meriden, Waterbury, and Litchfield.

All the industries so far mentioned were now carried on under the factory system, with the help of some outside labor. Most of the factories were still small. There are instances of large establishments, as the two carpet factories at Thompsonville, where five hundred persons were employed, and the axe factory at Collinsville where there were a hundred and seventy-five. Aside from these and a few other large establishments that might be mentioned, a single establishment employing more than a hundred persons within the factory was an exception. Even where the aggregate of workers in one industry of a town was large, the individual establishment was usually small: Waterbury's 300 metal button makers averaged only 30 to a shop; New Haven's 460 carriage and wagon makers worked in 24 different shops, an average of 19 to a shop. The figures in *Connecticut Statistics* are so arranged that we cannot tell the size of the several establishments within a town where more than one factory of a kind existed, but must reduce them to an average.

Boots and Shoes

The making of boots and shoes for sale was now widespread, although none of the modern shoe-making machinery had been invented and the industry was still being carried on under the domestic system. There are people now living in Connecticut who remember when the shoemaker came to the house for a week and made up the shoes for the entire family out of leather provided by the customer. By 1845, where shoe making was a business, one man bought the material, cut it out or had it cut for him, and then gave out shoes by the case to be made up by neighboring families at their own homes. Within these families the work was apportioned according to the strength and ability of the members.

In 1818 the Connecticut towns which made most shoes were Guilford, Durham, and New Canaan. The annual output of the last of these towns was then 60,000 pairs. In 1845 the three towns were still making shoes but no more than many other

towns. Towns where boot and shoe making were important were the following:

	PAIRS MADE		Value Annual Output	Employees	
	Boots	Shoes		M.	F.
Hartford	138,467	148,615	\$382,250	498	376
New Haven.....	17,766	137,349	153,111	373	165
Norwalk	3,189	90,491	77,189	274	202
New Canaan	42,976	118,611			
Darien	1,960	67,325	14,130	122	215
Milford	2,135	55,224	41,706	75	100
Norwich	5,176	25,639	36,308	60	37
Bridgeport	7,515	10,015	27,513	18	85
Greenwich	2,340	25,225	31,730	67	84
Stamford	9,037	34,398	39,069	133	75
Wilton	7,966	23,095	41,628	89	26

All these towns, except Norwich and Hartford, were along the southern shore of the state, east of the Connecticut. At the same period, however, shoemaking was carried on extensively in the parts of Massachusetts bordering on Connecticut, and we find a similar development in northeastern Connecticut, though here shoemaking was not so important as in the southern part. In Ashford were made more than 55,000 pairs of shoes and the report states that this was done by contract from Massachusetts and Hartford. If we could only credit the figures given, Woodstock would easily rank first of all the towns in the state. It is reported that it produced 5,651,580 pairs of shoes, at a value of \$68,045, and employed in this work 4,918 men and 4,907 women. The compilers of the book accepted the figures unquestioningly and count them in making up the state total, but inasmuch as Woodstock had at this time a population of only 3053, and five million pairs of shoes would surely be worth more than \$68,000, we are forced to cast out the figures and merely state that Woodstock, too, made shoes.

Hats and Clothing

Straw braid for hats was still made but it had almost given way to the manufacture of palm leaf hats; these were made, so far as these figures show, entirely by women. The places where the business was important were a series of towns along the northeast border of the state, and their output was as follows:

Town	Number Made	Value	Employed
Willington	40,758	\$4,641	153
Stafford	31,183	5,357	195
Ellington	12,712	1,779	61
Ashford	10,573	1,694	9
Union	7,460	4,476	45

These figures must not be taken too literally, for it is not likely that in these five neighboring towns the quality and quantity of hats made varied, in proportion to the number of persons employed, as much as these figures would imply.

Another industry carried on under the domestic system was the making of ready-made clothing. It is usually supposed that this industry did not take form until after the invention of the sewing machine. Now this machine was not invented until 1846 nor much used until after 1850. But the volume of Connecticut statistics already cited shows that in 1845 a rather large number of women were employed at making clothing in their own homes, in both city and country. The relation between the amount paid for labor and the number employed, the figures for which are given in a few instances, shows that the women must have been employed for only a part of their time. In Huntington, for instance, 124 women were employed and the value of labor is given as \$4,636.

The following quotation from a history of Bridgeport, though not a contemporary source, will show how the business was conducted:²⁹

"The making of shirts was commenced here in 1836. D. and I. N. Judson, it is supposed, were the first parties in the county to make a special business of manufacturing shirts for trade. They had in their clothing store in New York a department devoted to shirts. At first a few of these shirts were cut and sent to their sister, Miss Caroline Judson of Old Mill Green, who gave them out to women in the vicinity who made them, laundried, and returned them ready for the salesman. The business so increased that Wyllis Stillman became the superintendent in the place of Miss Judson and the work was conducted in the mill building at the head of Pembroke Lake which was used for many years as a storehouse and laundry. The Rev. Cyrus Silliman then residing at Green's Farms, aided in placing the work in proper hands, at first in his own vicinity, and afterwards conducted a separate business in which he traveled through a considerable extent of country."

²⁹ Orcutt, History of Bridgeport, pt. 2. Pp. 706-7.

Hartford took first place in this industry, as it had in the making of shoes. In 24 shops, 98,890 garments were made, and 380 men and 618 women were employed. In New Haven 246 men and 235 women were employed. In Bridgeport there were two shirt factories employing 650 women, possibly the two enterprises described in the quotation just given.

A special development of this industry around New London was the making of sailors' clothing. This town was then at the height of its prosperity under the whaling trade. Sailors' clothing was made to the value of \$57,000, those employed numbering 103, and in other ways too the whaling industry affected the country around New London. In New-London itself were made 86,887 barrels for whale oil; in Stonington oil casks were made to a capacity of 1,330,000 gallons; and in New London, again, were made 457,000 pounds of ship and pilot bread.

It would be fruitless to enumerate all the small manufactures that were carried on throughout the state at this time. In the *Illustrated Atlas of the United States and Adjacent Countries*, published in 1838, there is a short descriptive article on each state. On page 55, in the description of Connecticut, we read:

"The manufactures taken in the aggregate are of great value, but many of them are in the hands of the rural population, and there are few large establishments in the state. The Connecticut wares are well known all over the country, and are often carried from town to town to the most remote quarters by the thrifty pedlars from the same State."

A few examples will be sufficient to show the great variety of things that were made in the homes of the state or in small shops. Bobbins were made for the textile mills, and in Willington spools for cotton thread. Cheese boxes were made in several towns in Litchfield County, for already Litchfield was finding profit in dairy products. Other wooden articles made in the country towns were wagon hubs, beehives, butter kegs, clothes pins, awl helves, rules, clock cases, coffee mill boards, baskets, furniture knobs, looking glass frames and map rolls. All these were made in small quantities and were not very valuable, but they must have added appreciably to the farmers' incomes.

In most of the larger towns we find notice of a "sash, door, and blind factory," or of a "saddlery and harness factory," and shops of the makers of "mechanics' tools," evidences all of the growth of division of labor within the different communities but not evidence that can be cited to show that Connecticut had yet any claim to be called a "manufacturing state."

One striking thing about the manufactures of the state, both in important industries and in unimportant ones, is the complete absence of anything that can be classed as a luxury. Comforts there are and many necessities, but not an article was made which would not be bought and used by some plain person with but little money to spend.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL CONNECTICUT MANUFACTURES, 1845

	No. Employed	Value Annual Output
TEXTILES		
cotton goods	5,362	\$3,023,326
woolen goods	2,149	3,280,575
silk	272	173,382
bleaching, coloring	302	618,000
worsted goods	42	82,000
carpets	946	597,028
hosiery and yarn	168	320,373
	<hr/> 9,241	<hr/> \$8,094,784
DRESS (usually domestic system)		
ready made clothing	3,000 ca.	\$ 931,559
boots and shoes	6,000 ca.	1,741,920
palm leaf hats	593 ca.	113,780
hats and caps	1,461	921,806
	<hr/> 11,054	<hr/> \$3,707,065
CARRIAGES AND WAGONS...	1,506	\$1,222,091
INDIA RUBBER		
rubber goods (domestic).....	329	\$ 225,000
rubber shoes	86	115,000
	<hr/> 415	<hr/> \$ 340,000
PAPER	659	\$1,186,302
METAL INDUSTRIES		
Hardware		
small hardware	295	\$ 387,546
hollow ware	585	476,450

tin ware	414	487,810
cutlery, edge tools	176	91,837
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,470	\$1,544,143
Brass		
foundries, kettle and wire		
fact.	608	\$1,126,494
button	637	428,762
pins	158	170,000
hooks and eyes	208	111,600
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,611	\$1,836,856
Copper.....	40	\$ 275,000
Miscellaneous Metal Ware		
Britannia ware	130	\$ 145,157
plate	209	280,210
watches, jewelry	175	206,770
(handicraft chiefly)		
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	614	\$ 632,137
Miscellaneous Iron		
rolled, or slit iron	170	\$ 442,061
forges	365	391,275
pig iron	362	272,000
agricultural implements	518	447,650
machinery	436	363,860
mechanics tools	170	442,061
steam engines and boilers	13	16,700
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,041	\$2,080,026
Adjusted Machines		
clocks	656	\$ 771,115
firearms	164	155,825
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	820	\$ 926,940

274,665

CHAPTER V

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIGURES FOR 1845

At the risk, and indeed with the certainty, of being tedious, we have given a great many details concerning the manufactures of Connecticut in the years 1818 and 1845. These have been given, not because they are in themselves interesting, or even because it is very important that one town employed 17 men at button making while another employed 29 at making cotton goods, but because only by such detailed analysis can we hope to prove what were the conditions of industry at a given time. Even with all these details it is not possible to differentiate, in every case, handicraft custom work from manufacture for a distant market, yet without such differentiation figures regarding manufactures must be inaccurate.

The result of our survey of Connecticut manufactures in 1845 must persuade us that this was not yet a manufacturing state. Obviously a change had taken place, but it is easy to overestimate this change. There was now the beginning of a wage-earning class, but a liberal estimate of the number of persons in Connecticut who were engaged in manufacturing for a market would be twenty or thirty thousand out of a population of somewhat over three hundred thousand. In spite of the bewilderingly large number of different things which were made in the state, the quantity of each thing made was still small, and the value of all the manufactures put together was not so great as that of almost any one of the manufacturing cities of the state today.

As early as 1846 the following paragraph appeared in an article in Hunt's *Merchant's Magazine*, written as a review of our source, *Connecticut Statistics*, 1845:

"We have before intimated that from the comparative bareness and the primitive rocky nature of the soil and its limited territorial extent, the enterprise of the people is in a great measure directed to the various kinds of manufactures. It will hardly be denied that peculiar advantages are afforded to those particular species of enterprise in the extent of water power which is furnished by its numerous streams and by its

healthful skies as well as by those principles of morality which cause occupation of some kind to be deemed a source of virtue as well as of respect. Accordingly, it has happened that the interest of manufactures has gradually grown up in this state so that it has now become not only one of its most prominent if not the most important enterprise, indeed the main source of its prosperity.”⁸⁰

Nevertheless, we cannot admit that in 1845 manufactures were the most important enterprise in Connecticut or even that they were the “main source of her prosperity”—unless, indeed, we were to venture the assertion that only the manufactures were prosperous, and this we cannot do.

Since 1784 but one of the Connecticut towns had become a city: this was Bridgeport, which became a separate town in 1822 and a city in 1836. As we have seen, Connecticut’s growth in the years since 1820 had been very slow. In 1840 only 16 per cent of her people were living under urban conditions, that is, in towns of more than five thousand people. Though there was doubtless much manufacturing, even under factory conditions, in towns of less than five thousand, the people in these small towns who lived by agriculture were in most cases far more numerous than the factory workers. Sixty per cent of Connecticut’s population in 1840 were living in towns of less than three thousand, towns definitely agricultural in character, and there were many more who were earning their living from agriculture carried on within the limits of the more populous towns containing manufacturing villages.

Undoubtedly, manufacturing was the interest within the state which held most promise for the future, was the most noticeable for its vigor, and thus naturally the one which historians and other writers of the time would describe. The marked decline in Connecticut agriculture had not yet set in, and the population of the rural towns was still maintaining itself. Figures on this point are hard to secure, if not impossible, but it is very probable that the growth of manufacturing villages would, by supplying a market, have a decidedly beneficial effect upon the agricultural conditions of the districts nearest them.

⁸⁰ Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine, vol. 15, 1846, p. 566.

Yet though the manufacturing interest of the years between 1840 and 1850 was not large, its significance cannot be measured by its size. Connecticut presented—doubtless in common with the other southern New England states—a phenomenon in industrial development never seen before: a state in the process of changing from the handicraft system of industry into the factory system, without going through the intermediate change of the domestic system. It was, moreover, a state with a new attitude toward mechanical employment.

The local histories of the Connecticut towns tell us the early stories of many of the firms which have lived and grown through the last century—some of them even now bearing the names of their founders. It is striking to note how many an early undertaking, starting as the shop of a handicraftsman with three or four apprentices, his sons or his neighbors' sons, passed so gradually that the steps are seldom recorded into a factory of the modern type. In eighteenth-century England the domestic system of manufacture, which later gave way to the factory system, had been essentially one in which the laborers did their work at home for a merchant-employer, an employer who knew little and cared less about the methods of manufacture, provided his workers did not steal too much of his raw material. The employer who gave out work looked upon himself as a philanthropist who by giving work to so many poor people kept them from starvation.

In America all was different. During the eighteenth century settling on the free land that was within reach of everyone was so much more attractive than wage-earning that the English laws against manufactures in the colonies were quite unnecessary to prevent their beginning. In the nineteenth century land was still free, though now it was further in the interior, and all through the first half of the century and well into the second, manufacturing had to compete with farming for laborers. A farmer's son who could move beyond the Alleghenies and settle there on fertile fields within reach of the ever-growing Southern market must be well paid if he were to be persuaded to stay at

home and work in a factory. The mechanical effect of this scarcity of factory labor upon the invention of labor-saving machinery has often been noted. Few have ever spoken of its spiritual effect upon the American people. Here there was no question of "giving work to the poor." Rather was there work that must be done, and he who was willing to do it could command his own terms; he was honored in his community, and if he was intelligent and skilful the step was short from factory labor into factory ownership. This respect for hand labor is a most precious part of the heritage of the American people. It is a respect so firmly grown into the fiber of the nation that it seems likely to survive even the withdrawal of the native Americans from the factories.

We have seen how the compilers of the Pease and Niles *Gazetteer* called any handicraftsman's shop a factory, in prophecy of the enlarged and ever growing organization which they pictured for the future. This identification of the craftsman's shop with the factory is significant of the difference between English and American economic development. Here the employment of laborers in their homes was essentially employment by a manufacturer rather than by a merchant. The making of boots and shoes is to a certain extent an exception, for the reason that the organization of the industry upon a capitalistic basis preceded the application of power to the making of the article. In almost every other industry home labor was used to supplement factory labor, and was discontinued as soon as some mechanism could be devised to do away with it.

A detailed description of the way home labor was used is found in the report of Mr. George Wallis, one of the English Commissioners to the New York Industrial Exposition in 1851:³¹

"Elastic webbings used in the making up of clothing, suspenders, gaiters, etc., are manufactured in the State of Connecticut; and the establishment of Messrs. Hotchkiss and Merriman, Waterbury, affords an illustration of the extent and mode of operation. There are several other concerns of a similar character, but this appears to be the largest. They spin the cotton yarn in one factory where 200 persons are employed,

³¹ Wallis, N. Y. Industrial Exhibition, p. 70.

manufacture the buckles and metallic mountings in another, and at a third factory the elastic webbing is produced; the threads of catchouc for intermingling with the warp being prepared on the premises, the weaving of the webbing being effected by power. About 150 persons are employed in the latter factory, where the webbing is afterwards cut to the requisite sizes for the various articles into which it is to be made up, the leather trimmings punched out to the proper forms, and then assorted into convenient quantities with the necessary metallic appendages. The materials thus prepared and assorted are distributed in the villages and farm-houses around, to be made up by females, in many instances at their hours of leisure from domestic employment, and by others as a means of obtaining a livelihood. Even little children, under the age at which the law of the State allows of their employment in manufactories, can be usefully engaged in some portions of the work thus undertaken at home. A waggon is used for sending round the materials and collecting the finished work. This visits a given district at stated periods, taking out fresh work and bringing back that distributed on the former journey. About 600 persons are thus employed at their own houses by Messrs. Hotchkiss and Merriman. The goods are made up into dozens and half-dozens and usually packed in ornamental boxes for distribution to the retail dealer. They consist of the commoner kind of such articles as used in England, but are of excellent make and quality."

Another side of the manufacturing development of the years between 1820 and 1850 must be considered: the difficulties that beset the early manufacturer. We are so accustomed in these days to regard the New England States as manufacturing communities that we seldom think how great must have been the ability and enthusiasm of those who gave the manufactures their firm roots, and of what quality a man must have been to succeed under the conditions that surrounded the manufacturers of the first half of the nineteenth century here in America. The early manufacturers were pioneers quite as truly as their brothers who had left New England for the Middle West; for not only must they win their way against bad roads, absence of raw materials, foreign competition, and their own lack of capital, but they must do it all by methods that had never before been used.

In 1819 the New Haven correspondent of the makers of the oft-quoted *Gazetteer* had been able to write:

"Whatever expectations may be indulged by the inexperienced, it is a fact, established by the united testimony of all men of practical knowledge, that the great majority of those engaged in business of every

kind, can realize but *small profits*. This is more emphatically true with respect to mechanical employments of every description."

In opposition to this medieval, handicraft idea of merely making a living, the mechanics of Connecticut deliberately set about making a profit, and in the course of the next half-century they developed an industrial system such as the world had perhaps never seen.

Another quotation from the report of the English commissioner to the New York Industrial Exposition will show how seriously the difficulties of these American manufacturers were regarded by their European contemporaries:

"Certainly the one thing which, more than any other, strikes the visitors to the seats of industrial skill in the United States is the ingenuity, the indomitable energy and perseverance displayed in overcoming the early difficulties which must have stood in the way of anything like successful progress at the outset.

"It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that many skilled artisans have, from time to time, returned to Europe after an attempt to establish a manufacture, since the embarrassments arising out of almost unaided exertions and an isolated position were too great to allow them to do justice to themselves, or to those employers whose spirit and enterprise might have induced them to embark capital in such undertakings.

"The pecuniary loss of the latter has frequently been inevitable, and the early history of *nine-tenths* of the various branches of manufacture now flourishing in the United States, and amply repaying their present proprietors, is that of ruin or of enormous sacrifices on the part of those who had the hardihood to become pioneers in those arts which now promise to become, at no distant period, of vital importance to the well-being of millions of industrious men and women.

"Again, even to the present time, the isolation of manufactories in places at such a distance from each other that mutual aid is almost impossible, renders it imperative that each should be complete within itself, and that everything connected with its operations should be either manufactured on the premises, or kept in stock to such an extent as shall ensure a continuous supply.

"Thus, both the self-assistance and the laying in a stock of materials are carried to a much greater extent than the majority of English manufacturers would credit. This gives a great peculiarity to the manufacturing system of the States, so far as at present developed, and many of the manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield would soon close their doors if they had to furnish themselves with all the partially prepared materials for which they depend upon those whose business it is to manufacture them.

"Yet such is the position of large numbers of the most successful houses in the United States, and the difficulty is met with a tact and ingenuity of no ordinary kind.

"There can be no doubt, too, that this necessity for self-supply has been the means of originating many ingenious machines, for which the Americans have so deserved a reputation, as applicable to the manufacture of small articles, or portions of more complicated productions.

"Thus the very difficulty in procuring human labor, more especially when properly skilled and disciplined, which would assuredly be the greatest drawback to success, appears to have stimulated the invention of the few workers whose energies and skill were engaged in the early development of manufactures; and to this very want of human skill, and the absolute necessity for supplying it, may be attributed the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in many of those labour-saving machines, whose automatic action so completely supplies the place of the more abundant hand labour of older manufacturing countries."³²

³² Wallis, *N. Y. Industrial Exhibition*, pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER VI

MANUFACTURES THE PREDOMINANT INTEREST

We have set out to trace some of the steps by which Connecticut has changed in the last hundred years from a loose collection of largely isolated and nearly self-sufficing rural communities into a highly organized manufacturing state. In our surveys of the state in 1818 and 1845 we have shown the beginnings of this change, seen what were the difficulties in the way of its coming, and what were the forces compelling it. In our study of the years since 1845 we should determine not only when Connecticut became predominantly a manufacturing state, but also when and how she became a highly-organized manufacturing state; for the later history of Connecticut manufactures is the story of their interrelation almost as much as of their growth.

It is not possible in a work like this to study thoroughly the manufacturing growth of the state since 1845. All that can be done is to open up the subject and perhaps find out what would be the most profitable lines to pursue. No complete report has been found on the state's manufactures, by towns, since the report of 1845. The later gazetteers are secondary sources and are not sufficiently full for our purposes. The United States census reports do not go below the county divisions. The method of study, therefore, has been the following:

(1) By means of the United States census figures of population to determine the date when Connecticut became predominantly a manufacturing state in the sense that more than one-half her people lived under urban conditions or may be assumed to have earned their living by manufacturing or by the occupations which in a complex social group are subsidiary to manufacturing.

(2) Having determined the date when Connecticut became predominantly a manufacturing state, to turn to the United States census next following that date and classify and summarize the figures for Connecticut manufactures there given.

(3) Having determined when manufacturing became the predominant interest of the state and of what kinds and how great this interest was, by noting population changes in the different towns of the state to find out where the manufacturing interest was located.

(4) By means of local histories, reports of industrial expositions, histories of industries, business catalogs, and any other kind of printed matter available, to find how the state's manufactures were distributed among these growing towns, what was the course of the technical development within the various industries, why the different kinds of manufactures settled and grew where they did, and what was the extent of interrelation between the industries and between the towns as industrial centers.

If one possesses diligence, the first three steps in the method are comparatively easy to follow. When we come, however, to the interpretation of the figures by means of miscellaneous printed matter we enter upon something of a very different kind. We meet immediately with the difficulty that the writers we are consulting did not have in mind the same things that we have in mind. The local histories were written at widely different dates, some are filled with biographical notices and steel engravings of selected men of the town whose willingness to pay to see themselves in print made possible the publication of the history. Others devote much attention to the history of the local churches. Most of them give but one or two chapters to the town's industries, and even these chapters contain little to suggest the courses of industrial development. The method usually followed is to give a brief history of the individual firms within the town, with references to the dates when partners came in or left the firms, and with but little to show what the firm was producing at any given time, except possibly at the beginning and at the date when the history was written. The other sources of our information are even less satisfactory than the local histories; for the writers are either interested in, or satisfied with, describing the firms from the point of view of one adver-

tising them. So far as has been discovered, we have but one monograph which deals with a Connecticut industry from an economic standpoint. This is a history of the rolled brass industry, written as a thesis for the doctor's degree in Yale University.

All this being as it is, it is obvious that a mere introduction to the history of Connecticut as a manufacturing state, cannot present adequately the industrial history of the years between 1845 and 1880, a period of great and complex growth. An examination of many of the sources on this period has made it clear to me that for an adequate presentation of the subject a first hand knowledge of industrial processes is essential. It has become my conviction, moreover, that such a presentation belongs of right in the history of Connecticut as a manufacturing state rather than in the introduction to such a history. This history I hope, some time, to write. The present study, therefore, will conclude with a summary of the results obtained from following the first three steps named on pages 51 and 52.

CONNECTICUT

SUMMARY OF POPULATION CHANGES 1840-1910

NOTATION:

A—towns of ten thousand or more inhabitants (10,000).

B—towns of five thousand to ten thousand (5,000-9,999).

C—towns of three thousand to five thousand (3,000-4,999).

D—towns of less than three thousand inhabitants.

A and B present urban conditions; a town in group C may present either rural or urban, probably both; a town in group D will present rural conditions.

(1) Number of persons living in towns of different sizes, 1840 to 1910.

	'40	'50	'60	'70	'80	'90	'00	'10
A	27,983	44,965	115,888	171,917	279,151	409,208	553,490	752,224
B	19,968	52,660	61,051	93,161	82,470	99,956	115,215	132,894
C	75,352	69,492	101,472	91,138	100,006	86,775	99,207	98,470
D	187,485	204,474	181,739	181,238	161,073	160,319	140,588	131,168
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	309,978	370,792	460,147	537,454	622,700	746,258	908,420	1,114,756

(2) Number of towns of each size at successive censuses.

	'40	'50	'60	'70	'80	'90	'00	'10
A	2	3	6	8	13	15	18	21
B	3	8	9	13	13	15	16	19
C	21	18	28	25	28	23	27	26
D	115	121	116	118	113	115	107	102
	<hr/> 141	<hr/> 150	<hr/> 159	<hr/> 164	<hr/> 167	<hr/> 168	<hr/> 168	<hr/> 168

(3) Per cent of the state's population in towns of each size.

	'40	'50	'60	'70	'80	'90	'00	'10
A	8.7	11.9	25.18	31.99	44.81	53.78	60.92	67.48
B	6.4	14.2	13.26	17.33	13.25	13.39	12.68	11.92
C	24.3	18.74	22.05	16.95	16.06	11.62	10.92	8.83
D	60.6	55.06	39.51	33.73	25.28	21.21	15.48	11.77
	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.

(4) Per cent of State's population in towns of each character.

	'40	'50	'60	'70	'80	'90	'00	'10
Urban	15.1	26.1	38.44	49.32	58.06	67.17	73.60	79.4
Urban or rural....	24.3	18.74	22.05	16.95	16.06	11.62	10.92	8.83
Rural	60.6	55.06	39.51	33.73	25.28	21.21	15.48	11.77
	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.

By these figures and by the accompanying diagram it is shown that not until the decade between 1870 and 1880 were more than half of the inhabitants of Connecticut living under urban conditions. In the years between 1840 and 1870 the population had increased 73%. By 1880 it was double what it had been in 1840. In this same time, the number of people living in towns of less than 3,000 had decreased from 187,485 to 161,073, a decrease of 14%. The number of such towns had decreased from 115 to 113, so that the size of the average rural town had changed from 1530 to 1434. On the other hand, the number of persons living in towns of more than 10,000 had increased from 27,183 to 279,151, a tenfold increase. The number of towns in this class had grown from two to thirteen. Since Connecticut possesses no important commercial center like New York or Boston it is fair to conclude that this increase in urban population is also a growth in manufacturing population.

A supplementary proof of the statement that it was in the decade 1870 to 1880 that Connecticut became predominantly a manufacturing state, in the sense that more than half her people earned their living by manufacturing or by occupations subsidiary to manufacturing, is found in the fact that in 1870 her population was almost exactly twice what it had been in 1820. It was shown on page 26 that the population of the state in 1820, approximately 275,000, was as large a number as the soil of the state could support by agriculture under the agricultural conditions of that time. It is interesting to note in this connection a statement made by Mr. Howard Elliott, chief executive officer of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, in an article entitled, "Agriculture in Connecticut," published in 1912.³³ He says, "This great state . . . to-day produces but 25 per cent of what her people consume. Her consumption of food products amounts to over \$80,000,000 a year, and she produces less than \$20,000,000." The population of Connecticut at the last census was almost exactly four times what it was in 1820.

Having determined the date when Connecticut became predominantly a manufacturing state, we turn next to the United States census report on manufactures for 1880 to find of what kinds and how great was her manufacturing interest at this date. For greater intelligibility, the industries are taken out of the alphabetical order of the Census Report and are rearranged more nearly in the order followed in the British census.

CONNECTICUT MANUFACTURES IN 1880 ³⁴

	Average Number Employed	Value of Output
ALL INDUSTRIES	112,915	\$185,697,211
TEXTILES		
cotton goods	14,938	\$17,050,126
woolen goods	6,956	16,892,284
silk, silk goods	3,338	5,881,000
dyeing and finishing textiles...	303	464,800

³³ Connecticut. Industrial, Agricultural, etc., p. 12.

³⁴ U. S. Census, 1880. Manufactures: Connecticut by specified industries, pp. 96-99.

felt goods	174	429,496
worsted goods	490	1,597,227
shoddy	139	347,500
mixed textiles	2,948	5,919,505
carpets	1,654	2,500,559
hosiery, knit goods	2,211	2,432,271

33,150

\$53,514,768

DRESS

clothing, men's	1,605	\$2,210,159
shirts	1,071	699,605
corsets	4,374	3,322,359
boots and shoes	1,540	2,372,293
hats and caps, not wool.....	3,185	4,407,993
hat and cap materials	416	743,551
wool hats	539	1,003,992

12,730

\$14,759,852

CARRIAGES

carriages and wagons	1,648	\$2,605,591
carriage and wagon materials..	488	824,611

2,136

\$ 3,430,202

INDIA RUBBER

rubber and elastic goods.....	622	\$1,710,761
rubber shoes	2,112	4,175,997
rubber belting, hose	224	850,000

2,978

\$ 6,736,758

PAPER

1,702

\$ 4,337,550

AMMUNITION

871

\$ 1,706,852

METAL INDUSTRIES

Hardware

small hardware	8,244	\$10,374,293
screws	120	210,000
iron and steel bolts, nuts, washers, rivets	961	1,662,131
saddlery hardware	270	570,000
nails and spikes	44	120,000
bells	160	251,024
cutlery, edge tools	2,659	2,704,708

12,458

\$15,892,856

Brass

brass castings	668	\$1,077,700
brass and copper, rolled.....	4,226	10,985,471

brassware	931	1,134,884
buttons	1,237	1,110,653
hooks and eyes	149	251,000
gas and lamp fixtures.....	915	1,000,000
lamps and reflectors	85	102,800
needles and pins.....	492	804,985
wire.....	528	890,481
electrical supplies.....	54	102,800
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,285	\$18,451,594
Plated and Britannia ware.....	2,903	\$ 6,080,076
Miscellaneous		
foundry and machine shop		
products.....		
tools.....	4,781	\$6,339,599
files.....	1,007	1,631,295
iron forgings.....	47	49,675
agricultural implements.....	281	512,620
saws.....	565	719,627
springs, steel, car and car-	5	5,500
riage	298	622,841
steam fitting and heating		
apparatus	352	757,422
tinware, copper wire, sheet		
iron work.....	453	827,162
stamped ware	195	200,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7,984	\$11,665,741
Complex Machines		
clocks and clock cases and		
materials	2,616	\$3,067,217
sewing machines and attach-		
ments.....	2,088	2,969,741
firearms.....	2,389	2,470,398
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7,093	\$ 8,507,356

CONNECTICUT MANUFACTURES 1880 RECAPITULATION

	Average Number Employed	Value Output
Textiles	33,150	\$53,514,768
Dress	12,730	14,759,582
Carriages	2,136	3,430,202
India rubber	2,978	6,736,758
Paper	1,702	4,337,550
Ammunition	871	1,706,852

METAL INDUSTRIES

Hardware	12,458	\$15,892,856
Brass	9,285	18,451,594
Plated, brit. ware.....	2,903	6,080,076
Miscellaneous	7,984	11,665,741
Complex machines	7,093	8,507,356
	<hr/> 39,723	<hr/> \$60,597,623
Total, selected industries	93,290	\$145,083,335
Total of state manufactures	112,915	\$185,697,211

The next and last of the three steps to be taken in concluding this introduction to the history of Connecticut as a manufacturing state is to determine among what cities and towns this manufacturing was distributed.

Because of our earlier surveys of manufacture in the state, we are not surprised by the names of the towns which in 1880 contained more than 10,000 inhabitants. Since 1845 three towns had come into the list of cities; these were, Waterbury in 1853, Meriden in 1867, and New Britain, which in 1845 was still a village in the town of Berlin, in 1870.

GROWTH OF LARGER CONNECTICUT TOWNS 1840 TO 1880

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
New Haven.....	14,390	20,345	39,267	50,840	62,882
Hartford	12,793	13,555	29,152	37,743	42,551
Bridgeport	4,570	7,560	13,299	19,835	29,148
Norwich	7,239	10,265	14,048	16,653	21,143
Waterbury	3,668	5,137	10,004	13,100	20,270
Meriden	1,800	3,559	7,426	10,495	18,340
New Britain.....		3,029	5,212	9,480	13,979
Norwalk	3,863	4,651	7,582	12,119	13,956
Middletown	7,210	8,441	8,620	11,126	11,732
Danbury	4,504	5,964	7,234	8,753	11,666
Derby	2,851	3,824	5,443	8,020	11,650
Stamford	3,516	5,000	7,185	9,714	11,297
New London.....	8,991	10,115	9,576	10,537	10,757

Though it is not planned in this study to go very far behind these figures to show the reason for these differing rates of growth, a few words of explanation may well be written. Hartford's slow rate of growth between 1840 and 1850 was occasioned by the cutting off of a large part of her territory to make

the town of West Hartford, which in 1850 had a population of 4,411. Similarly, the town of Bethel, which in 1860 had a population of 1,711, was taken from Danbury in 1855.

Bridgeport's rapid growth was occasioned by her manufacture of sewing machines, corsets, and metallic rim-fire cartridges, all of them new industries since 1845, and by her growing participation in the brass industry. Waterbury and Derby show how rapid was the expansion of the demand for rolled brass and its manufactures. If the population of the smaller towns in the Naugatuck Valley were to be added to these, the expansion would be even better realized. The census figures show what were some of the new uses for brass that had developed since 1845, but do not mention the fact that the German silver foundation for the plated silverware made in Meriden, the "Silver City," was made in these brass rolling mills of the Naugatuck Valley. The demand for brass which in the years since 1880 has outstripped all the others, the need of it for electrical supplies, is shown in its small beginnings in the census report for 1880.

Middletown here is shown to be lagging behind the other cities, but this is even more marked in the case of New London, the one city of Connecticut which had depended upon fishing and commerce rather than upon manufactures. Norwich alone among the textile towns of the eastern half of the state appears in this list; a comparison of the rate of growth of the Connecticut textile towns during this period with the textile towns of Massachusetts and Rhode Island would show a marked retardation here.

New Haven's increase came from her making of carriages and, later, of hardware, corsets, and firearms; Hartford's from various things, but chiefly from her metal working machinery and her insurance interests.

In this year of war, when the demand for firearms is so unprecedentedly large, it is interesting to note how much Connecticut has contributed to the firearm industry of the world. The Colt revolver and the Gatling gun of Hartford, the Sharp's breech-loading rifle of Hartford and later of Bridgeport, the Union

metallic cartridge of Bridgeport, and the Winchester repeating rifle of New Haven have all added to Connecticut's fame. Less well known brands of small arms have long been made in the state, and one firm of Hartford has made gun making machinery which has been sent all over the world, even to the royal arsenals of Germany—Spandau, Erfurt, and Dantzic.

NOTE

Since this monograph has been put into type the author has found in the uncatalogued canal material in the library of Yale University a pamphlet with the following title: "Considerations on the practicability and importance of opening a navigation to the interior of the state, by the Housatonic River," New Haven, 1822. It refers to a meeting of the inhabitants of Derby, Connecticut, February 15, 1822; and from it the following pertinent extract is taken (pp. 4-7):

"About one eighth part of the population of the state inhabit the fifteen towns adjoining the Housatonic; at least one fifth could, at less expense, and with greater convenience than by any other possible channel, were it navigable, communicate with the Sound by its waters; and a little less than one fourth reside in towns, some part of whose limits are within ten miles of its banks—a population less by about 5000 only than according to the same calculation, live within an equal distance of Connecticut river. (P. 5) If it were correct to estimate the ratio of marketable productions and internal trade by that of population, it will follow, that nearly one fifth part of the aggregate of land transportation in the state, and that over its most hilly roads, if the Housatonic were navigable, would be exchanged for water carriage. This transportation is at present to places on the Connecticut river, on the Hudson, and on the Sound—probably in a greater proportion to the latter, and over a distance varying from 20 to 70 miles. No data are known by which the extent and expense of it can be accurately estimated. If we suppose 20,000

tons to be its present annual extent; this carried a medium distance of 45 miles, at \$12 per ton, would give \$240,000 for its annual expense. This statement is probably less than the fact. Of this sum, at least 5-6ths, 200,000 dollars, might be annually saved to the farmer and manufacturer, and would be added to the value of their articles at their doors and shops, could convenient water communication be resorted to. To a sacrifice on the value of their productions bearing any proportion to this, no other section of the state, of half the extent, is subjected. Those living in the neighborhood of Connecticut river, or of the Sound, realize the full value of the productions of their soil and their industry, while their equally deserving fellow citizens of the interior, north and west of them, are compelled to compromise the one moiety of the value of theirs to deliver the other to market. Every bushel of grain, and ton of timber, and foot of building stone and marble, on the principal (P. 6) that equal industry is entitled to equal rewards, ought to be worth as much to the owner on the banks of the Housatonic, as on those of the Connecticut; and would be, but for the difference in the expense of transportation; and the same ought to be the prices of the salt, molasses, plaister, and other articles consumed by both. The articles raised and manufactured are nearly the same in both places. Yet a ton of plaister, which costs the farmer of Connecticut river \$5, costs one at New-Milford from \$10 to 12, and at Canaan, at the usual rate of transportation from the Sound, about \$17. A ton of ship timber is worth to the former from \$10 to 15, yet to one of the latter it is valueless, and to the other nearly so. This parallel might be followed with the same results, through most of the articles of produce and consumption.

“But it would be confining our view of the advantages of the proposed navigation within too narrow limits, to regard it as as affecting, in this portion of territory, those articles only which are at present marketable. In a public point of view, the interest connected with the subject is increased in proportion as it can be brought to aid the applications of industry and skill in the successful improvement of *all* the means of wealth and comfort,

which the natural productions and adaptation of the country, place within its reach. A country abounding with frequent and never failing mill-streams is adapted to manufactures, requiring water power. Add to this an abundance of the raw material on its own soil, and a ready and contiguous market is only wanting to insure it comfort and wealth. (P. 7) Of exactly this description, except the market, is the country under consideration. Its forests are yet extensive. The recent enlarged demand for ship timber in the neighborhood of the Housatonic is a proof of its good quality and great value. The amount in value of this article shipped to New York from the head of the tide waters of this river, only during the past summer, probably exceeded \$20,000, besides a considerable amount in timber of other descriptions. Of this article, and timber fitted for other purposes, and wood, the quantity is yet immense.

“The region of this river contains also inexhaustible quantities of limestone, and flagging and building stone, interspersed, from Stockbridge to the head of the present navigation. Iron ore is also found in considerable quantities, and it ought not to be forgotten, that the marble now most in use in Connecticut, even under the present expensive transportation, comes from this quarter, and the heaviest articles of manufacture in the state are wrought at its only successful forges, on the banks of the Housatonic. Remove but the expense of land carriage, and reduce it to the standard of canal transportation, and it is very easy to see that from the sources, and others which might be enumerated a mass of materials, scattered through this region, now inactive and unheeded as sources of profit, would assume a value and productiveness under the hand of industry, increasing to an amount beyond any probable estimate.”

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JANUARY, 1916

Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

Editors

THE OPERATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By LAURA JOSEPHINE WEBSTER

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Published Quarterly by the
Department of History of Smith College

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THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

IS

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CONNECTICUT AS A MANUFACTURING STATE”

By GRACE PIERPONT FULLER

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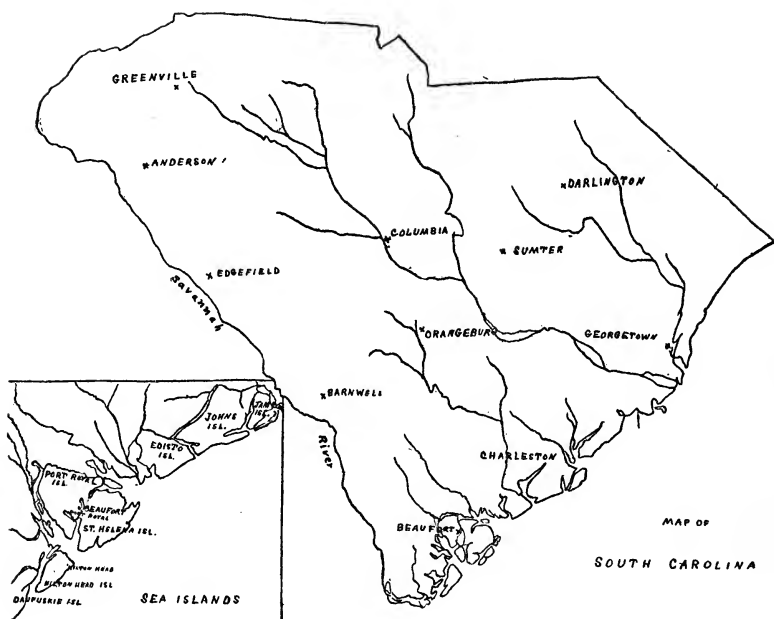
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Map of South Carolina, showing centres of the work
of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARIES

November 7, 1861, Commodore Dupont stormed and captured Fort Walker at Hilton Head, South Carolina. United States troops, under command of General W. T. Sherman, were immediately landed and took possession of Hilton Head, and soon afterward of Saint Helena and the entire island of Port Royal.¹ To escape falling into the hands of the enemy, the slave holders in the captured districts and adjacent islands fled to Charleston and the interior. They took with them the more intelligent of their slaves; the remainder, with the abandoned plantations, were left to the enemy. The region occupied by the Union forces consisted of some of the most valuable territory of the entire South, for only along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Texas can sea island cotton be produced. On these islands slavery had existed in its most absolute form, and the negroes there were of the lowest order of intelligence.²

Before leaving, the masters had warned the negroes to avoid the "Yankees," saying that if the latter had the opportunity, they would take them to Cuba to sell them again into slavery. Nevertheless, at Hilton Head a large portion of the negroes flocked to the piers to welcome the Union forces, who reported that they came ready for their journey, wherever it might be, each with his worldly possessions tied up in a little bundle.³ Much

¹ War of the Rebellion. Official Records, Series I., Vol. VI., pp. 186-193. Schouler, History of the United States, VI., 139; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, V., 14-20; Greeley, The American Conflict, I., 604-605.

² Reid, After the War, 94-95; Pierce, The Freedmen at Port Royal, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 301 (Sept., 1863).

³ Greeley, The American Conflict, I., 605. Schouler, History of the United States, VI., 139.

to their surprise the soldiers remained, and the negro population, gaining confidence as the days passed without evidence of coercion, began to rejoice in the absence of compulsory labor. They appropriated to their own use the potatoes and corn in the storehouses of their former masters and settled down to the enjoyment of their "year of Jubilee." It was in allusion to this period that the following poem was written by John Greenleaf Whittier:

"Ole Massa on he trabbels gone;
He leaf de land behind:
De Lord's breff blow him furder on
Like corn-shuck in de wind.
We own de hoe, we own de plough,
We own de hands dat hold;
We sell de pig, we sell de cow,
But nebber chile be sold.

"De yam will grow, de cotton blow,
We'll hab de rice an' corn:
O nebber you fear, if nebber you hear
De driver blow his horn!"⁴

The abandoned homes of the planters and of their overseers were soon filled with negro refugees who flocked to the Union lines in great numbers.⁵ It was reported on November 9 that 150 of them had come in two days.⁶ To these childlike people, freedom meant simply a perpetual cessation of labor, and General Sherman could not induce them to exert themselves sufficiently to carry on the work of the camp. He complained that the sudden change from servitude to apparent freedom was more than their intellects could stand.⁷ Their daily increasing numbers and decreasing resources caused him, on February 6, 1862, to appeal to "the benevolent and philanthropic of the land" to relieve the immediate wants of "this unfortunate and . . . interesting class of people." At that time he estimated that there were at least 9000 negroes within his lines.⁸ At the same time he applied

⁴ Whittier, "At Port Royal."

⁵ Pierce, *The Freedmen at Fort Royal*, *Atl. Mon.*, XII., 302. (Sept., 1863).

⁶ Official Records, Series I., Vol. VI., pp. 186-187.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

⁸ Gen. Sherman had first suggested this plan in a letter written Jan. 15, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

to headquarters for authority to put into operation a plan for the superintendence of agriculture and education within his department.⁹

Meanwhile Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, and a leading anti-slavery spirit had determined upon a plan of action similar to General Sherman's. Late in December, 1861, he sent Edward L. Pierce to visit the captured sea islands and to report to him upon the condition of the negroes there.¹⁰ Pierce was a young abolitionist of Boston, who had formerly studied in Chase's law office and who had superintended the labor of the "contrabands" at Fortress Monroe the preceding summer.¹¹

Pierce set out for South Carolina January 13, 1862. He completed a detailed report of the result of his observation on February 10,¹² and forwarded it to Secretary Chase. His conclusions, based upon a three weeks' examination of agricultural conditions and of the life and disposition of the negroes, he himself acknowledged as necessarily uncertain.¹³ However, his report shows careful investigation and a desire to conserve all the resources of the country in the interests of the national government.

Contrary to expectations, he found many of the negroes on the plantations indifferent to freedom and unwilling to fight for it. Some of them, recalling the prophecies of their masters that they would be taken to Cuba, had fled in alarm at the approach of the army. Others were determined to remain on the plantations and "take their chances" with the soldiers.¹⁴ No system of labor had as yet been established on the plantations. Agents, sent by the treasury department to superintend the "gathering, preparing and transporting to market of the cotton and other property" found by the army, had got the negroes to assist them,

⁹ Hart, Salmon P. Chase, 258.

¹⁰ Pierce, *Atl. Mon.*, XII., 296 (Sept. 1863).

¹¹ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, III., 457.

¹² The report was commenced on Feb. 3, 1862. Moore, *The Rebellion Record*, Companion Volume, 302.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 308-309.

but the service was performed in such a dilatory manner that Pierce assumed the defensive in speaking of it.¹⁵

At the military camps at Hilton Head and Beaufort, barracks had been erected for the negroes, and a regular system of labor had been devised. At Hilton Head, Barnard K. Lee, Jr., of Boston, had been in charge of the laborers since November, 1861. Definite arrangements had been made with the negroes to work for wages at rates regulated by General Sherman. Mechanics were to receive from eight to twelve dollars a month and other laborers from four to eight dollars. In addition, each laborer was given a ration of food for himself. Food and clothing for his family were furnished and the value was deducted from his wages. At the time of Pierce's report, 472 laborers were thus enrolled. Of these, 137 were on the pay roll, and the amount of money due them for labor during the first three months amounted to nearly \$1000. The failure to pay the promised wages, probably due to a lack of small currency, naturally tended to increase the negroes' native aversion to work.¹⁶ Although the customary means of enforcing discipline upon the blacks was not used by the superintendent of Hilton Head, Yankee ingenuity was not slow in finding a substitute for the lash and the whipping post. Pierce reports that "the delinquent, if a male, is sometimes made to stand on a barrel, or, if a woman, is put in a dark room;" and he added that such discipline proved successful.¹⁷

At Beaufort, William Harding, a citizen of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina, had recently been appointed superintendent, but because of the delay in his appointment, little had as yet been accomplished. The Reverend Solomon Peck of Roxbury, Massachusetts, had established a school there, January 8, 1862, and was maintaining it largely at his own expense. The school then contained 60 pupils.¹⁸

As a result of his observations, Pierce recommended to Secre-

¹⁵ House Ex. Docs., 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. VII., No. 72, p. 1. Moore, Companion Volume, 307.

¹⁶ Moore, Companion Volume, 313.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 313.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 314. Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 11.

tary Chase the following plan for the cultivation of the 195 plantations then in control of the army in South Carolina. Superintendents of plantations should be appointed and "given adequate power to enforce a paternal discipline, to require a proper amount of labor, cleanliness, sobriety and better habits of life, and generally to promote the moral and intellectual culture of their wards."¹⁹ For each large plantation there should be a superintendent, while several small ones could be placed under the control of one man. A director-general should inspect the work of all the plantations, and a uniform system of wages was to be determined. The government should provide teachers for the elementary branches of education, and missionaries should be encouraged. This plan, Pierce thought, would render the negro self-supporting, and would train him for citizenship. He pointed out to Secretary Chase that haste was necessary, as destitution was imminent without the assistance of the government. When he wrote, the time for planting had already arrived.²⁰

Upon the completion of his report, Pierce went to Washington. There he interviewed Secretary Chase, President Lincoln and several congressmen in behalf of his plans for the negroes on the sea islands. His report was approved by Secretary Chase, but even his personal friends in congress refused to act in the matter, and President Lincoln, then deeply concerned over the condition of his son, seemed impatient at being troubled with "such details." However, on February 19, 1862, Pierce was appointed by Secretary Chase as special agent of the treasury department to superintend "the culture of plantations and the employment of the laborers thereon."²¹ Since an appropriation could not be obtained from congress, a plan of coöperation was arranged with the benevolent societies of the North, whereby superintendents of plantations and teachers were to be paid by

¹⁹ It is interesting to notice the similarity of this plan to the paternal oversight previously exercised over the negroes by their masters.

²⁰ Moore, *Companion Volume*, 311, 312.

²¹ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 296-297 (Sept., 1863); Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*, 259; House Ex. Docs., 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. VII., No. 72 p. 2.

them, while subsistence, transportation and quarters would be furnished by the government.²²

A word must be said about the philanthropic societies without whose help the work inaugurated by Pierce would have been impossible. While still at Port Royal, he had appealed for help to friends in Boston, which resulted in the organization there, on February 7, of The Educational Commission. The Freedmen's Relief Association was organized in New York February 20, and Philadelphia followed, March 3, with The Port Royal Relief Committee. Soon afterwards numerous similar societies sprang up throughout the North and West, and even in Great Britain.²³ These societies at first provided the funds for the employment of both superintendents and teachers, but after July 1, 1862, the government undertook the payment of superintendents from the sale of confiscated cotton. Besides contributions of money, the societies furnished quantities of provisions of all kinds.²⁴

March 3, 1862, Pierce embarked from New York with a company of 41 men and 12 women, among whom he said "were some of the choicest young men of New England, fresh from Harvard, Yale and Brown, and from the divinity schools of Andover and Cambridge. . . . There were some of whom the world was scarce worthy, and to whom . . . I delight to pay the tribute of my respect and admiration."²⁵ John Murray Forbes, who happened to be travelling on the same vessel, gives in a letter written March 4, the following description of his fellow voyagers: "Our passengers consist chiefly of the 'villaintropic' society . . . ; bearded and mustached and odd-looking men,

²² Moore, Companion Volume, 315. The government advances were made by the war department. House Ex. Docs., 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. VII., No. 72, p. 2. Official Records, Ser. I., Vol. VI., p. 227.

²³ The aggregate contribution from Great Britain amounted to \$800,000. Howard, Autobiography, II., 196; Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, III., 468.

²⁴ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 297 (Sept., 1863); Wilson, Slave Power, III., 464-471.

²⁵ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 4; Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 298, 299 (Sept., 1863).

with odder looking women.”²⁶ This company reached Beaufort March 9, 1862, and the members were soon assigned by the special agent to their different fields of labor as teachers, nurses and superintendents. “During the first year they furnished 91,834 garments, 35,829 books and pamphlets, 5,895 yards of cloth, \$3,000 worth of farming implements and seeds, and had about 3,000 scholars under instruction.”²⁷ The superintendent found that the negroes remaining on the plantations had in most instances planted patches of corn and potatoes. With difficulty they were prevailed upon to resume the cultivation of cotton, on the promise of payment for the care of this crop which heretofore had caused them the hardest labor, and from which they had received no benefit.²⁸

Many difficulties impeded the work of the special agent. The lateness of the season when the superintendents arrived, the negroes' lack of confidence in the promise of wages,²⁹ and the scarcity of agricultural equipment³⁰ all seriously handicapped the enterprise. But by far the greatest hindrance was the feeling of opposition on the part of the government employees already in the field. From November until March the soldiers and cotton agents had enjoyed sole possession of the conquered territory. When a company of missionaries appeared, authorized by the government to claim all abandoned property, the newcomers were regarded by many as interlopers, and received the derisive term

²⁶ Hughes, *Life and Recollections of Jno. Murray Forbes*, I., 295, 296.

²⁷ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, pp. 4, 5.

²⁸ Moore, *Companion Volume*, 315-328. Upon the flight of the planters, the slaves' hatred of the cotton industry showed itself in a savage destruction of cotton gins. Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 308 (Sept., 1863).

²⁹ This feeling was justifiable, since the cotton agents had not yet kept their promise of paying the negroes for baling and transporting the cotton. Moore, *Companion Volume*, 320.

³⁰ Until after the middle of April, the plowing had been done largely by hand, since the planters in their flight had taken with them nearly all of the mules. The middle of April, ninety mules, sent from New York by the government, reached Beaufort, and were distributed among the plantations. Tools and farming implements were also sent from the North. Moore, *Companion Volume*, 319.

of "Gideonites."³¹ This feeling is well expressed in a letter written in April by John Murray Forbes to Charles Sumner, in which he said: "The undercurrent against the commission here is very strong, even among those who ought to know better. First the cotton agents think their interests, and their personal use of negroes, horses and houses hurt thereby; then the settlers and finally the military, are all prejudiced, especially the subordinates; the lower you go the worse the feeling, the generals and those high up doing, I believe, all they can, and showing, so far as I can judge, a good spirit."³²

This hostility manifested itself in petty annoyances, in personal violences, and in a general lack of harmony between the departments. An example of the failure to coöperate with the military authorities is worthy of notice. On May 12, 1862, the superintendents, much against their will, aided in carrying out an order of General Hunter's requiring that all able-bodied negroes between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be sent to Hilton Head to be armed.³³ This was done amid the protests of the conscripts and the loud lamentations of their families, and to the detriment of crops then under cultivation. These crops, deprived of 600 "full hands," were left dependent upon the work of women, children and old men.

Since this lack of harmony existed it is probably well that on June 28, 1862, the control of plantations was transferred from the treasury to the war department.³⁴ Brigadier General Rufus Saxton was assigned by the secretary of war to duty in the department of the south with directions to take possession of abandoned plantations and to make rules and regulations for the cultivation of the land.³⁵ General Saxton was a native of Massachusetts and represented the feeling of that state in regard to

³¹ Pierce claimed for the title Gideonites "just rank with the honored titles of Puritan and Methodist." *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 298 (Sept., 1863).

³² Hughes, *Life and Recollections of John Murray Forbes*, I., pp. 300, 301.

³³ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. II., No. 123, pp. 52 *et seq.*

³⁴ Howard, *Autobiography*, II., 178.

³⁵ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. II., Serial 123, pp. 27, 152, 153.

negro privileges. His appointment was made at the personal request of Secretary Chase.³⁶

Although the captured plantations were now under different management, Pierce's plans were largely followed, with a few changes as to general supervision. Port Royal and adjacent islands were arranged in three divisions, and a general superintendent appointed over each, with subordinate local superintendents in charge of the plantations.³⁷ A plan, begun by Pierce, was carried out, whereby two acres of land were assigned to each working hand, with five-sixteenths of an acre additional for each child. On this the negroes were to raise corn and potatoes sufficient for their own subsistence. In payment for the use of the land and of the cattle necessary for its cultivation, they were to work the government's cotton fields and to cultivate additional food supplies for the plowmen, the superintendents and the disabled ones of the plantations. In case any persons refused to work in the cotton fields, they were charged rent at the rate of two dollars a month for the houses and lands used.³⁸ Rations were furnished where necessary, but Nordhoff asserts that none were supplied to those who were destitute by their own fault.³⁹

The system of wages used on the plantations is not clear, but it seems to have been as follows: At first Pierce assigned to each laborer in the cotton fields one dollar an acre as an advance on his wage account.⁴⁰ In March, 1863, Nordhoff wrote that twenty-five cents was paid for each day's work in the cotton fields, the nature and extent of the work being strictly defined. He reported that the negroes were paid in addition two and a half cents a pound for the cotton each raised and picked.⁴¹ It will be

³⁶ Hart, Salmon P. Chase, 259.

³⁷ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., Serial 125, pp. 1023, 1024.

³⁸ Nordhoff, *The Freedmen of S. C.*, 13-15; Howard, *Autobiography*, II., 178; Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 308 (Sept., 1863).

³⁹ Nordhoff, *The Freedmen of S. C.*, 14.

⁴⁰ Moore, *Companion Volume*, 320.

⁴¹ Nordhoff, *The Freedmen of S. C.*, 14. Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 308 (Sept., 1863). According to Pierce, a standard day's work could, by beginning early, be performed by a healthy and active hand by noon.

remembered that work on the government's cotton fields was accepted in payment of rent for the negroes' houses and patches on which they raised their own food supply. Thus provision was made, not only for the negroes to become independent of the government rations, but that they should have a certain amount of spending money. Stores were established for the use of the blacks at various places on the islands, and one of the most encouraging signs of negro advancement was their growing demand for the accessories of civilization.⁴²

In August, 1862, an event occurred which caused great loss to the work on the plantations. Ordering the cavalry from the department of the south to aid McClellan necessitated the abandonment of James, Edisto and Daufuskie Islands, where were 2,000 acres of growing corn, potatoes and cotton. Fifteen hundred people were removed from these islands to Saint Helena Island, where, according to Saxton's report, there were neither proper accommodations nor adequate employment for them. To add to his embarrassment, 600 people from Georgetown and 175 from Hutchison's Island were also sent to Saint Helena.⁴³ The withdrawal of troops and consequent overcrowding of the negroes resulted in the formation of the first colored regiment of the United States Army.⁴⁴ Feeling the need of protection, Saxton applied to Secretary Stanton for permission to organize, from the "contrabands" in his department, a force not exceeding 5,000 able-bodied men. His request was granted with the understanding that the troops were to be used to guard the plantations and to make incursions into the hostile territory for the purpose of bringing away negroes and thus diminishing the strength of the enemy.⁴⁵ The regiment organized by General Saxton, known as the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, was mustered

⁴² Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., pp. 310-311 (Sept., 1863); Nordhoff, *The Freedmen of S. C.*, 20.

⁴³ Official Records, Ser. I., Vol. XIV., p. 375.

⁴⁴ The colored troops conscripted by General Hunter, May, 1862, were never paid, and were disbanded August 11, 1862. Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 312 (Sept., 1863); Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. II., No. 123, p. 695.

⁴⁵ Official Records, Ser. I., Vol. XIV., pp. 374-378.

into the service of the United States in October, 1862, and was placed under the command of Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson.⁴⁶

Instead of the 5,000 volunteers for which Saxton had asked, the new regiment numbered only about 860 men.⁴⁷ The unwillingness of most of the negroes to serve in the army was noticed by Pierce on his first visit to the islands in the winter of 1862. He found this especially true of negroes on the plantations, where initiative and self-reliance had been largely suppressed. "Black men have been kept down so like dogs, that they would run before white men," the negroes told him. Nevertheless, he reported a few cases of their brave resistance.⁴⁸ Throughout the war, 5,462 negro troops were furnished by South Carolina. Though at first their enlistment was regarded by many as a worthless experiment, on the whole they proved satisfactory soldiers. With the abandonment of 2,000 acres of cultivated land and the withdrawal of many of the best laborers to serve in the army, it is not surprising that the agricultural output for the first year was disappointing. The cotton crop amounted to 50,000 pounds of ginned sea island cotton (about 500 bales), then worth in the Market \$50,000. Food had been raised for the negroes and a supply of corn and fodder had been furnished the army.⁴⁹

General Saxton was very desirous that the freedmen⁵⁰ should own land. Provision had been made by acts of Congress for sale, to the highest bidder, of land forfeited to the United States for non-payment of direct taxes.⁵¹ This tax had been levied on all the States, but the levy had been disregarded by those in the Southern Confederacy. In consequence, when any of the terri-

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1027.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Ser. III., Vol. III., No. 124, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Moore, Companion Volume, 308; William, Geo. W., History of the Negro Race in America, II., 300.

⁴⁹ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1024; Nordhoff, The Freedmen of S. C., 14; Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 299 (Sept., 1863).

⁵⁰ All slaves of rebel masters on places occupied by the U. S. forces, or escaping thereto, were declared free by act of congress, July 17, 1862. Statutes at Large, XII., 591.

⁵¹ Statutes at Large, XII., 422-426, 589-592, 640, 641 (Acts of June 7, 1862, July 17, 1862 and Feb. 6, 1863).

tory of the Southern States fell into the hands of the Union, all proceeds from the sale of such land were kept as partial compensation for the debt of the entire state. In March, 1863, about one-fourth of the abandoned plantations in South Carolina were sold at auction. Of the 47 plantations sold, 6 were purchased by negroes, the remainder by Northerners who cultivated them with hired negro labor.⁵²

September, 1863, President Lincoln issued orders for the sale to the highest bidder of all the unreserved lands. A small portion was set apart to be offered to negro families at private sale for \$1.25 per acre. According to Saxton's report, this arrangement could provide for less than one-half of the negroes, with allotments of two acres each.⁵³ A better provision was intended in an order issued by the president to the direct tax commissioners, December 30, 1863, so worded as to give the negroes preëmption rights to "any lands in the district of South Carolina owned by the United States." To one person was to be allowed one, or at the option of the preëmtor, two tracts of twenty acres each, for which he should pay \$1.25 an acre. Two-fifths of the price was to be paid on receipt of the certificate of preëmption, the remainder on receipt of the deed.⁵⁴ Saxton at once communicated these instructions to the negroes, who joyfully staked out allotments for nearly all the land in the district and applied to the commissioners for the certificates of preëmption. Although the negroes tendered the payment required by the president's order, the majority of the tax commissioners declared the order illegal, and refused to receive the money. The instructions were soon afterward suspended by the secretary of the treasury, and the lands sold to other purchasers.⁵⁵ Thus ended the first attempt of the negroes to own the abandoned and confiscated land of South Carolina.

Although a large part of the land had been sold in March,

⁵² Annual Cyclopaedia, 1863, p. 430; Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 308-310 (Sept., 1863).

⁵³ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1025.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1026.

1863, Saxton was able to report for that year that 470,000 pounds of seed cotton had been raised on the plantations still retained by the government. When ginned, this would leave about 150,000 pounds, three times the amount produced in 1862. Saxton stated that the cotton crop of the year would considerably more than meet all of his expenses. In addition, the negroes had raised food enough for their own needs. Rations, however, had been supplied to the destitute refugees who had come into the Union lines since the planting season.⁵⁶

The following year, 1864, Saxton's powers were very much limited. The land was sold, or else passed into the hands of the direct tax commissioners, so that the supervision of plantations ceased. He still maintained authority over "regulations for the sanitary condition and police of the department, and for the protection of the freedmen in their industry and its products. To secure justice between the negroes and their employers, he instituted a system of written contracts, obligatory upon all who employed the freedmen in agriculture. These contracts were signed by both parties, witnessed by his superintendents and subject to his approval. He also established for the freedmen, August 27, 1864, the South Carolina Savings Bank at Beaufort, where by the close of the year \$65,000 had been deposited. By refusing to allow the negroes to sell their cotton until they had obtained a certificate from the superintendent, saying that the sale had been fairly made, he protected them from unscrupulous purchasers. He also ordered that no cotton should be shipped from the department until he was satisfied that the negroes had received their just share for labor expended thereon.⁵⁷

Except for Pierce's report of February 3, 1862, in regard to the regulation of negro labor and education at Beaufort and Hilton Head,⁵⁸ we have so far confined our discussion to the condition of the negroes on the plantations.⁵⁹ Pierce's authority

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1022-1023.

⁵⁸ See pages 4, 5 above.

⁵⁹ The organization of negro troops was closely allied to the subject, as it was to protect the plantations that they were enlisted.

was over the plantation negroes only, and until the transfer of supervision to the war department, July 1, 1862, regulations for the negroes at the army posts were made by the quartermaster's department.⁶⁰ After the transfer, the same department seems to have continued its supervision over the negroes at the army posts, with a general oversight exercised by Saxton.⁶¹ Nordhoff wrote in 1863 that the negroes had done almost all the work in the quartermaster's department⁶² and in December, 1864, Saxton reported that numbers of the negroes were engaged as "mechanics, employees in the quartermaster's department, house and officers' servants, and in various handicrafts."⁶³

At Hilton Head an interesting experiment was tried by the military authorities. Half an hour's ride from the camp, lands were set aside for a negro village, known as Mitchelville in honor of General Ormsby M. Mitchel. Its population was made up entirely of negroes with a well organized town government in which all the officers were negroes, and all, except the mayor and treasurer, were elected by them. It is interesting to note that the common council of the village required all children between the ages of six and fifteen to attend school regularly, "except in cases where their services are absolutely necessary for the support of their parents, of which the teacher is made the judge."⁶⁴ Thus, in the negro village of Mitchelville, was established the first compulsory education law in South Carolina.

During the three and a half years of military occupancy, earnest efforts were being made to provide educational advantages for all the negro children on the sea islands. It will be remembered that the philanthropic societies had undertaken to provide and support teachers, while transportation, quarters and subsistence were to be furnished by the government.⁶⁵ Before

⁶⁰ House Ex. Docs., 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. VII., No. 72, p. 2; Moore, Companion Volume, 316.

⁶¹ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1024.

⁶² Nordhoff, 3.

⁶³ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1024.

⁶⁴ Reid, Whitelaw, After the War, 89-90; Fleming, Doc. Hist. of Reconstruction, I., 73-75.

⁶⁵ See pp. 71-73 above.

the arrival of Pierce's first delegation, March 9, 1862, schools had been established at Beaufort and Hilton Head.⁶⁶ Most of the women and a few of the men of this delegation were assigned as teachers to various parts of the islands, but until the following autumn not more than a dozen schools had been established. This was due largely to the intense summer heat and to the scarcity of teachers. Some teachers, who had come in the first delegation, returned home during the summer, thus causing schools only just established to be abandoned.⁶⁷ The position of teacher in negro schools was not desirable, except to one imbued with missionary zeal. To small salaries and personal discomforts were added absence of all social enjoyments and the ill-concealed contempt of the army. Some of the teachers who responded to the call of the missionary societies represented the highest culture of the North.⁶⁸

In the fall of 1862 educational plans on the islands were revised, and about 3,000 scholars were reported under instruction during that year.⁶⁹ In 1863 Pierce, who was on the islands from March 25 to May 10, stated that there were more than 30 schools in the territory, conducted by 40 or 45 teachers. He found the more advanced pupils studying the second reader, elementary arithmetic and geography. It is interesting to note that the germ of the present industrial education of the negro existed in Beaufort, where a New York woman was teaching sewing to 113 colored girls. The negroes showed an earnest desire for education and were often willing to make sacrifices for its acquisition. Sometimes the older negroes came for instruction after school hours and studied in the intervals of labor.⁷⁰ Negro soldiers had their own schools, superintended by the officers,⁷¹ and when Northerners bought land, they often established schools on the

⁶⁶ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 303 (Sept., 1863).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-307; Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., No. 125, p. 1027.

⁶⁹ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., pp. 303-308 (Sept., 1863); *The Nation*, Vol. I., 746 (Dec. 14, 1865).

⁷¹ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., pp. 249, 250.

plantations at their own expense. Mr. C. F. P. Bancroft, proprietor of 13 plantations, established five free schools, which were attended by 300 pupils.⁷² During the latter part of the period under consideration, the United States tax commissioners supervised several schools maintained by them from the proceeds of rent obtained from forfeited lands.⁷³

The real work of these negro schools can not be estimated by the proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic attained by the pupils. The lessons they learned in cleanliness, industry and patriotism were of much greater value to this newly emancipated race. The thought of negro children, eagerly grasping the rudiments of knowledge, before withheld from them, appealed strongly to the sentiment of the North and called forth from Whittier the following song written for the schools of Saint Helena Island:

"The very oaks are greener clad,
The waters brighter smile;
Oh, never shone a day so glad
On sweet Saint Helen's Isle!

"For none in all the world before
Were ever glad as we,—
We're free on Carolina's shore,
We're all at home and free!"⁷⁴

On General Sherman's famous march to the sea, thousands of negroes followed his army. At Savannah he was confronted with the problem of what to do with this host of illiterate people, dependent upon him for support. He sent a thousand of them to Saxton at Beaufort,⁷⁵ but disposing of them even in this wholesale manner far from settled the problem.

Finally, as a result of a conference with Secretary Stanton, he issued, on January 16, 1865, his celebrated special field order number 15. It reserved for the settlement of the negroes the islands from Charleston south and the abandoned rice fields for

⁷² Annual Cyclopaedia, 1863, p. 430; Howard, Autobiography, II., 192; *The Nation*, I., 747 (Dec. 14, 1865).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 227 (Aug. 24, 1865).

⁷⁴ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, XII., 304 (Sept., 1863).

⁷⁵ *Harper's Weekly*, IX., 50 (Jan. 28, 1865).

30 miles inland. At Beaufort and Hilton Head the blacks were to be allowed to remain in their chosen or accustomed occupations, but on the islands no white person, except military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, could reside. It provided for allotments of not more than 40 acres of land to negro families, in the possession of which they were to be protected by the military authorities until such time as they could protect themselves, or until Congress should "regulate their titles." Saxton was appointed inspector of settlements and plantations, with authority to furnish to each head of a family a possessory title to his apportionment of land. The order definitely stated that no change was intended or desired in the settlement then on Beaufort Island, and that rights to property before acquired should not be affected.⁷⁶ Acting under this order, Saxton settled not only the negroes already in his district but hundreds who were lured there by the fame of this freedmen's paradise.

At a time when many opposing theories were held in regard to the rights of the negro and his possibilities of development, the three years' experiment on the sea islands of South Carolina was of great importance. The results did not reach the expectations of the extreme champions of the negro. They had believed and taught that all that was needed was to release him from servitude and oppression and he would quickly prove himself the equal of the white man. To such theorists, the reports from the sea islands, though unduly exalting the negro, revealed the fact that even in freedom and as the ward of the nation, the characteristics of servility, indolence and improvidence persisted. For the Southerners also, the experiment had its lesson. Many had believed the negro incapable of advancement and useless as a free laborer. On the sea islands it had been proved that he would work without compulsion. Many negroes had become entirely self-supporting, and negro labor, for which reasonable wages had been paid, had brought money into the United States treasury and into the hands of individual planters. Moreover, some of

⁷⁶ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. 47, Part II., pp. 60, 61. In condensing this order, omission has been made of any land outside of S. C.

the race had shown their efficiency as soldiers. - A real beginning had been made in the education of the negro and it was evident that he was eager to attend school and could learn the elementary studies.

March 3, 1865, when the first freedmen's bureau bill became a law, the experiment on the sea islands of South Carolina was extended to all the "insurrectionary states." How the work which we have reviewed was reorganized, enlarged, and made operative in all the districts of South Carolina will be the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

LEGISLATION AND ORGANIZATION

The bill for establishing in the war department a bureau of refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands was signed by President Lincoln March 3, 1865. To this bureau was committed "the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen." The president was authorized to appoint a commissioner to whom should be given the general management of the bureau, and also ten assistant commissioners for the states "declared to be in insurrection." Annual salaries were to be paid to the commissioner and his ten assistants, but any military officer might be detailed and assigned to duty without increase of pay or allowance. Provisions, clothing and fuel might be issued by direction of the secretary of war "for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen." The commissioner was authorized "to set apart, for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen, such tracts of land within the insurrectionary states as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation, or sale, or otherwise." Provision was made for the allotment of this land in 40-acre tracts to the negroes. The bureau was to continue "during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter."¹

President Lincoln chose as commissioner of the freedmen's bureau Major General Oliver Otis Howard, who had served with distinction during the war, and was then in command of the army of the Tennessee. Unwilling to withdraw General Howard from the field where he was still needed, Lincoln delayed the appointment, which was finally made by President Johnson on May 12, 1865.² Howard at once entered upon the discharge of his duties and made the following four divisions of bureau work: lands,

¹ Statutes at Large, XIII., 507-509.

² Howard, Autobiography, II., 206-209.

records (embracing labor, schools and quartermaster's and commissary supplies), finances, and medical aid.³

June 13, Howard announced the appointment of Brevet Major General Rufus Saxton as assistant commissioner for the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, with headquarters at Beaufort. To most of the assistant commissioners only one state was assigned, but an extra share fell to Saxton because of "his long experience with the freedmen."⁴ Soon after his appointment, a severe illness necessitated Saxton's absence for 30 days, thus delaying the organization of the bureau in his districts. To lighten his work, Howard appointed assistant commissioners over Georgia and Florida, so that by the last of September Saxton's direct supervision was over South Carolina alone.⁵ His appointment enabled him to carry on the work in which he had been engaged for the past three years, and gave continuity to the direction of negro affairs in South Carolina.

By December, 1865, the state was divided into the following districts: Anderson, Beaufort, Charleston, Columbia, Georgetown, and Orangeburg. Over each was placed an officer known as a sub-assistant commissioner.⁶ As far as possible, the districts were divided into sub-districts, and the army officers detailed from duty to serve in these divisions were known as acting sub-assistant commissioners, which cumbersome title was usually shortened to "A. S. A. Commissioners." All civilians in the service of the bureau were known as agents.⁷ A system was inaugurated by which each official of the bureau reported to his immediate superior.⁸ Saxton was in the habit of making month-

³ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 2.

⁴ Howard, Autobiography, II., 215; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47; Saxton assumed control and issued his first circular three days before Howard's formal announcement of his appointment. Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 230.

⁵ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 2, 3, 27. Howard, Autobiography, II., 217.

⁶ Senate Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 27, pp. 21-23; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 37.

⁷ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 107; these terms were not strictly adhered to, and were often interchanged.

⁸ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116.

ly abstracts of outrages compiled from the reports sent him by his sub-assistant commissioners,⁹ and by the terms of the freedmen's bureau bill he was required to report every three months to General Howard.¹⁰ The extension of the bureau to the interior was hindered in two ways. Hostility on the part of some of the whites made it dangerous for officers to go to the remote parts of the state, unless protected by military authority. General Ely, the sub-assistant commissioner for Columbia, in his frequent trips to the various parts of his large district, was accompanied by an armed orderly. This method was very generally used.¹¹

The second serious hindrance to the extension of the work was the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of bureau officials. The omission of Congress to make an appropriation for the bureau largely limited the choice of officials. A few civilians were found who freely gave their services, but the work was largely dependent upon army officers, who, by the terms of the freedmen's bureau bill, could be detailed and assigned to duty without increase of salary. Because of the mustering out of the volunteers, the bureau was unable to obtain even from the army all the officers necessary.¹² Consequently the district assigned to one man was too large to receive careful attention to details. Of the six bureau districts, only Columbia and Anderson were north of the central part of the state. This left a larger area to be supervised by the two up-state sub-assistant commissioners than was controlled by four officials in the south where the country was more thoroughly guarded by the army. A special correspondent of *The Nation* wrote from South Carolina, November 27, 1865: "Doubtless an officer of the greatest ability and activity, with the best intentions, would find

⁹ Report of Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 218.

¹⁰ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47. Statutes at Large, XIII., 508.

¹¹ *The Nation*, II., 46 (Jan. 11, 1866); Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 3; Schurz, Report, 40.

¹² Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 3.

it almost impossible, with the means now in his control, to protect all the negroes in one of these wide-extending districts.”¹³

Another evil arose from the fact that officers for the bureau were detailed to service by the military commander, usually without consultation with the district commissioner. Under this system, which took from the managers of the bureau the choice of their assistants, it is not surprising that a large number of the officials were unfit for their positions.¹⁴ Matters were made worse by the frequent shifting of the army, so that officials were sometimes in control no more than a few days before a change was made. Sidney Andrews wrote in September, 1865, in regard to the bureau officials in South Carolina: “The probabilities are that half the aggregate number on duty at any given time are wholly unfit for the work intrusted to them.”¹⁵ Of the official at Orangeburg, in whose office he had spent some time, he wrote: “His position . . . is a difficult one, and he brings to it a head more or less muddled with liquor, a rough and coarse manner, a dictatorial and impatient temper, a most remarkable ability for cursing, and a hearty contempt for ‘the whole d—n pack o’ niggers.’”¹⁶ Sometimes army officers were required to attend to the work of the bureau besides keeping up their military duties. This increase of labor without added compensation naturally tended to make them dislike the bureau.¹⁷

During the first year of the bureau’s existence, there were in South Carolina four sources of authority: the customary United States officials, the provisional state government under the auspices of President Johnson, the United States military forces, and the freedmen’s bureau. Such a condition would naturally lead to complications, even though the relations between the officers of the different departments were always harmonious. But harmony did not exist in South Carolina. In Howard’s first

¹³ *The Nation*, I., 780 (Dec. 21, 1865).

¹⁴ Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 23, 24; Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, 338; *The Nation*, I., 779 (Dec. 21, 1865).

¹⁵ Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 3; *The Nation*, I., 779 (Dec. 21, 1865).

annual report, December 15, 1865, he wrote: "The department commander had his headquarters at Hilton Head; General Saxton his at Beaufort, and finally at Charleston, and the provisional governor was in the northern part of the state. Hence there has been much separate and some conflicting action on the part of these officers, and many misunderstandings. I believe, now that the department commander and assistant commissioner are both at Charleston, and co-operating, more complete order and confidence will be the result."¹⁸

Through Howard's recommendation a change was effected whereby the assistant commissioner of South Carolina assumed command of the military forces of the state in June, 1866. The bureau districts were also made to correspond more nearly to the military divisions.¹⁹ This arrangement, though an improvement on the former system, did not obviate all friction, but transferred it to a different quarter. In November, 1866, the assistant commissioner for South Carolina complained that his command of the military was only nominal, and that General Sickles, the department commander for both North and South Carolina, had reserved most of the rights to himself.²⁰ An order of General Sickles that district commanders must report to him on matters concerning freedmen, as well as on military affairs, was appealed to General Grant, who overruled it.²¹

This example of friction between the civil, military, and bureau departments is described in *The Nation* of July 19, 1866: "General Scott, assistant commissioner for South Carolina, recently prepared careful estimates of the rations needed to sustain the destitute of that state, and forwarded them to the proper authorities. General Sickles, however, his military superior, disapproved of them on the ground that Governor Orr discredited the reports on which they were based, and the rations were accordingly withheld. A correspondence upon the subject between

¹⁸ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 26.

¹⁹ Howard, Autobiography, II., 284; Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116; Charleston *Daily Courier*, May 25, 1866.

²⁰ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116.

²¹ *The Nation*, III., 43 (July 19, 1866).

General Howard and Governor Orr revealed a misapprehension on the part of General Sickles, the governor being solicitous that the rations should be furnished as proposed."²²

The trouble between those high in command simply reflected the feeling of their subordinates. The assistant commissioner reported: "Many of the officers in command of troops manifest an aversion to the bureau and do not seem disposed to carry out its provisions, and I regret to say that the freed people in many localities fear the troops as much as they do their former master." Complaints of difficulties with post commanders over judicial affairs were sent to the assistant commissioner from all over the state.²³

January 15, 1866, Saxton was succeeded as assistant commissioner of South Carolina by General Robert K. Scott of Ohio. The reasons for the change are nowhere openly avowed. Saxton testified that he thought his removal due to "misrepresentation of such men as ex-Governor Aiken and William Whaley," to whom he had refused to surrender the land formerly owned by them.²⁴ Light is thrown on the subject by Howard in his "Autobiography," in which he complains that President Johnson was "very anxious to be rid of every prominent officer who was reported to have been the freedmen's friend," and that in the president's eyes Saxton was too much the advocate of his wards.²⁵ Generals Steedman and Fullerton, who were sent by President Johnson in the spring of 1866 to investigate the operation of the freedmen's bureau, condemned the results of Saxton's administration. They reported that a too liberal issue of supplies on his part had fostered idleness and improvidence among the negroes, and they criticised in particular his policy on the sea islands. Too much weight, however, should not be given

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 116, 119.

²⁴ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 216; Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 736.

²⁵ Howard, *Autobiography*, II., 283-284.

this report, which is evidently biased in favor of Scott as opposed to Saxton.²⁶

That Saxton was beloved by his charges and that he had their interests at heart can not be doubted.²⁷ But in the turbulent period of reconstruction, something more was needed in the official who served as chief arbiter between the whites and blacks in South Carolina. Whitelaw Reid described him in 1865 as "narrow, but intense, not very profound in seeing the right, but energetic in doing it when seen; given to practice rather than theory; and withal, good and true."²⁸ Such a man might unwittingly hinder rather than help the cause he advocated. Scott, who succeeded Saxton, was by no means his equal in culture or character, but in many particulars he made a more efficient assistant commissioner. He was more conciliatory toward the white people of the state and less ardent in his advocacy of negro rights.²⁹

July 16, 1866, the powers of the freedmen's bureau were enlarged by the passage, over President Johnson's veto, of the third freedmen's bureau bill.³⁰ Provision was made for the following changes. The bureau was to continue in existence for two years after the passage of the act. The commissioner was authorized to appoint such agents, clerks and assistants as were necessary, detailed from the army without increase of pay, or chosen from the ranks of civilians. In the latter case they should receive an annual salary of from \$500 to \$1,200. The bureau

²⁶ Charleston *Daily Courier*, June 16, 1866.

²⁷ *The Nation*, II., 754 (June 15, 1866).

I am indebted to Dr. Samuel A. Green for the information that General Saxton's name was softened by the negroes to *Saxaby*. Whitelaw Reid preserves the following spirituel, in which the negroes showed their esteem of General Saxton by associating him with their idea of heaven.

"Gen—e—ul Sa—a—axby a sittin' on de tree ob life,
Roll, Jordan, roll,
Gen—e—ul Sa—a—axby a sittin' on the tree ob life,
Ro—o—oll, Jordan, roll,
Ro—o—oll, Jordan, roll,
Ro—o—oll, Jordan, ro—o—oll!"

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

—Reid, *After the War*, 105.

²⁹ For an example of Saxton's extreme ideas see Chapter III., p. 95.

³⁰ The second freedmen's bureau bill had failed to pass over the president's veto, Feb. 19, 1866.

was given military jurisdiction and protection over the civil rights of the citizens until the ordinary judicial proceedings and relations to the government should be restored. Special provision was made for the disposal of land in South Carolina, which will be discussed in chapter three.³¹ This law increased the power of the bureau, and enabled it to extend its sway to the remote parts of the state. In November, 1866, it was reported that the bureau was in communication with any who might require the assistance of its officers.³²

July 6, 1868, congress passed a bill authorizing the continuance of the bureau for another year, except in states fully restored to their relations with the national government. Even in such states the educational department of the bureau should be continued until suitable state provision should be made for the education of the freedmen.³³ In the same month, representatives and senators from South Carolina were admitted to congress, and Scott resigned his position as assistant commissioner to become governor of the state.³⁴ His successor, Colonel J. R. Edie, was assigned to duty by the war department July 31, 1868.³⁵ Although by the act of July 6, 1868, the bureau should have been withdrawn from South Carolina after the admission of its representatives to congress, another act, passed July 25, provided for its discontinuance in the several states after January 1, 1869, except for the educational department and the collection and payment of bounty.³⁶ Accordingly, Edie and his subordinates continued to serve until December 31, 1868, when only comparatively few officers and agents were retained.³⁷ In 1870, the bureau gave up its educational work for lack of funds,³⁸ and by act of congress, June 10, 1872, provision was made for its entire abolition after June 30 of the same year.³⁹

³¹ Statutes at Large, XIV., 174-177.

³² Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 736.

³³ Statutes at Large, XV., 82-83.

³⁴ Reynolds, Reconstruction in South Carolina, 97.

³⁵ Howard, Report, Oct. 14, 1868, p. 26.

³⁶ Statutes at Large, XV., 193-194.

³⁷ Howard, Report, Oct. 20, 1869, p. 3.

³⁸ Howard, Report, Oct. 20, 1870, p. 7.

³⁹ Statutes at Large, XVII., 366.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION AND RESTORATION OF LAND

It will be remembered that in the first year of the war the owners of plantations on and near the sea islands of South Carolina fled at the approach of the Union Army.¹ The land thus abandoned was appropriated by the national government by acts of congress authorizing, first, the seizure and sale of lands on which the direct tax had not been paid;² second, the seizure of property of all persons engaged in aiding "the rebellion,"³ and finally the collection and sale by the treasury agents of abandoned property in the insurrectionary districts.⁴ Property was to be regarded as abandoned when the lawful owners should be "voluntarily absent therefrom, and engaged, either in arms or otherwise, in aiding or encouraging the rebellion."⁵

By March 3, 1865, when the first freedmen's bureau bill went into effect, the land seized by the government was disposed of as follows: first, land sold or leased to Northerners and negroes by the United States tax commissioners; second, land held by the negroes in forty-acre tracts for which they had possessory titles granted in accordance with Sherman's special field order; third, land occupied without authority by the negroes; fourth, land set aside by the tax commissioners as "school farms," and fifth, unoccupied land.

The first freedmen's bureau bill provided for the assignment to freedmen and refugees of 40-acre tracts of abandoned and confiscated land, with provision for the payment by them of an annual rent of six per cent of its value. The privilege of purchase was extended, with the promise that the government would provide "such title as the United States can convey."⁶ President Johnson ordered the federal officers to turn over to the freed-

¹ See p. 1 above.

² Statutes at Large, XII, pp. 292-313; 422-426; 640-641.

³ *Ibid.*, XII., pp. 589-592.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XII., pp. 820-821; XIII., pp. 375-378.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII., 376.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII., 508.

men's bureau all abandoned lands and property.⁷ For South Carolina and Georgia, Saxton received 435,000 acres of land (more than half the entire amount of land held by the bureau in the sixteen states in which it operated), and 782 pieces of town property.⁸

The system of leases made by the treasury department was maintained. At first \$6,000 a month was received by the bureau for rent, much of which was for town property in the city of Charleston. Because of restoration to former owners, the revenue so derived was reduced by November 1, 1866, to \$50 a month.⁹ Much of the land in the hands of the bureau was allotted to the freedmen, but from the beginning Howard publicly recognized that the bureau could not "convey a full and perfect title in fee simple."¹⁰

Early in 1865 the rumor spread from plantation to plantation throughout the state that the government was giving to every negro "40 acres and a mule."¹¹ The origin of the belief in gifts of 40 acres can readily be traced to Sherman's special field order and the terms of the first freedmen's bureau bill, but the added generosity of the government in the bestowal of mules can not so easily be accounted for. Possibly it was due to the negroes' belief that 40 acres without his favorite and much abused beast of burden would be worthless. Although the more conservative of the race determined to remain at home, reflecting that in the division, the "home-house" might fall to them,¹² the report that land was already being given away on the coast caused a constant stream of migration in that direction. Sidney Andrews, in a night journey from Orangeburg to Columbia in September, 1865, "met scores of them trudging along with their whole earthly possessions in a bundle on the head." To quote from him: "Walking in the bright moonlight, seventy or eighty rods ahead

⁷ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4; Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 112.

¹⁰ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 4.

¹¹ Schurz, Report, 31. Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 97, 98; *The Nation*, I., 651 (Nov, 23, 1865).

¹² Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 97, 98.

of the hack, I spoke with many. They had but few words; 'Going to Char'ston,' was often their only reply. Whether talkative or taciturn, there was a firm foot and unruffled voice for the coast."¹³

The freedmen's desire for land became in some instances an insistent demand. "What's the use to give us our freedom if we can't stay where we were raised, and own our houses where we were born, and our little pieces of ground?" was asked.¹⁴ The *South Carolina Leader* for March 31, 1866, prints over the name of a negro soldier the following: "They [the planters] have no reason to say that we will not work, for we raised them, and sent them to school, and bought their land, and now it is as little as they can do to give us some of their land—be it little or much."¹⁵ Such expressions, thought doubtless rare,¹⁶ served to infuriate the southern whites.

The freedmen's bureau was accused by many, among whom was General Grant, of originating and spreading the idea that the land was to be divided among the freedmen.¹⁷ In 1864 Saxton had expressed the opinion that "it seems to be the dictate of simple justice that they [the negroes] have the highest right to a soil they have cultivated so long by the cruelest compulsion."¹⁸ Doubtless this feeling was shared by some of his subordinates and communicated itself in some measure to the negroes. However, in the fall of 1865, seeing the disastrous effects upon labor caused by the expectation that land would be given away at New Year's, Saxton issued a circular charging his officers and agents to do all in their power to convince the negroes that their belief was groundless.¹⁹ One of the early problems of the bureau in South Carolina was to provide for the swarms of blacks then invading the coast region. Some were sent back to the interior at the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁴ *The Nation*, I., 393 (Sept. 28, 1865).

¹⁵ *South Carolina Leader*, March 31, 1866.

¹⁶ Schurz, Report, 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁸ Official Records, Ser. III., Vol. IV., Serial 125, p. 1025.

¹⁹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 95.

government's expense, while others were settled upon lands by General Saxton. He estimated that 40,000 negroes had been provided with homes according to the provisions of Sherman's special field order.²⁰ In addition, over 600 certificates of title to real estate were given to negroes by the tax commissioners of South Carolina.²¹ Negro land-holders frequently hired less fortunate members of their race as laborers,²² and the *Charleston Daily Courier* reports that they were exacting task masters.²³

In Sherman's special field order it was stipulated that no white man, except military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, should be allowed on the lands set apart for the negro. Saxton's circular number 4, issued April 22, 1865, named the penalties for violation of this provision.²⁴ Edisto, Wardmelaw, James, and John's Islands were completely given over to the negroes,²⁵ and the planters, returning from the war, found it necessary to obtain permission and even protection to visit their old homes. Those who went, reported that "most of the elegant mansions . . . were cut and hacked by hatchets and axes, the doors and windows broken out, the fruit trees cut down, and everything wearing the most desolating aspect."²⁶ In one instance the family tomb had been used as a dog kennel.²⁷ As late as January, 1866, four men, who had come from Philadelphia with a view of purchasing land in the south, considered themselves fortunate to escape with their lives from a visit to John's Island. They were surrounded by a constantly increasing crowd of angry negroes, the men carrying firearms, the women brandishing hoes, pitchforks and clubs, and made to march 12 miles across the island to the quarters of the commissary department where they were rescued.

²⁰ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 221.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 6, 1866.

²⁴ Tremain, *Two Days of War*, etc., pp. 255, 256; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Oct. 10, 1865.

²⁵ *The Nation*, I., 172 (Aug. 10, 1865). *Charleston Daily Courier*, Feb. 15, 1866.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1866.

²⁷ From private letter in possession of the writer.

The Philadelphia gentlemen returned as soon as possible to the City of Brotherly Love.²⁸

May 29, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon, with restoration of rights of property, to all persons who should take an oath to support the Union and abide by its laws. Exceptions were made including the Southern leaders and persons worth over \$20,000. Two kinds of property were withheld from restoration, *viz.*, slaves and property for which legal proceedings had been instituted in view of confiscation by the United States government. Provision was made for private pardon, in which case clemency was promised.²⁹

A difference of opinion early arose between Howard and the president. The former ordered his assistant commissioners to restore property only to those who could show constant loyalty, and provided for the protection of refugees and freedmen then occupying land set apart for them.³⁰ This displeased the president, who had circular number 15 prepared under his own direction and ordered Howard to issue it. The circular provided for the restoration of abandoned lands to all who could furnish proof of title³¹ and pardon and provide full and just compensation to the freedmen for their labor and expenditures.³² The order was supplemented November 30 by circular number 20, stipulating that no lands should be restored until complete and careful provision should be made for the resident refugees and freedmen.³³ This left the negro secure only in the possession of confiscated land, which was defined as land which had "been condemned and

²⁸ Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 1, 11, and March 12, 1866.

²⁹ Official Records, Ser. II., Vol. 8, Serial 121, pp. 578-580.

³⁰ Howard, Autobiography II., 234, 235; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 5.

³¹ Where the records and deeds had been destroyed, Howard accepted as proof of ownership the affidavits of two or three citizens. Charleston *Daily Courier*, Nov. 22, 1865.

³² Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 56.

³³ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 754. The use of the word "refugee" in this case seems to be a mere formality, for although the records show that a large amount of provisions was given to refugees (meaning white people), no indication can be found that land was allotted to them.

sold by decree of the United States court for the district in which the property may be found, and the title thereto vested in the United States.”³⁴ In case the former owner had not been pardoned, it put upon the bureau the burden of proving that the land had been abandoned.³⁵

Delay in the restoration of lands finally caused the former owners to appeal to President Johnson, promising at the same time that they would “absorb the labor and care for the freedmen.” This resulted in general order number 145 from the president, ordering Howard to South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He was “to effect an arrangement mutually satisfactory to the freedmen and the land-owners,” and was empowered to issue orders necessary to execute such a plan.³⁶ Although Howard felt that any dispossession of the negroes was a betrayal of faith on the part of the government, he restrained an impulse to resign his position, and obeyed the president’s command, hoping thereby to be able to befriend the freed people.³⁷ He reached Charleston October 17, 1865. Soon afterwards, accompanied by William Whaley, the legal representative of the planters, he held a conference with over 2,000 negroes in a church on Edisto Island. Rumor having reached the negroes that land was to be taken from them, they were filled with sorrow and excitement. “In the noise and confusion no progress was to be had,” says Howard, in his Autobiography, “till a sweet-voiced negro woman began the hymn, ‘Nobody knows the trouble I feel—Nobody knows but Jesus,’ which, joined in by all, had a quieting effect upon the audience.” Howard then explained to them the wishes of the president, and urged them to make the best terms they could with the planters.

A committee of three was appointed from among the negroes which heard from Howard the offers of the planters. They absolutely refused to work under overseers, and asked that land

³⁴ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 56.

³⁵ Howard, Autobiography, II., 235, 236.

³⁶ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 6, 7. Tremain, Two Days of War, etc., 248, 257, 258.

³⁷ Howard, Autobiography, II., 237-238.

might be rented or sold to them. Finally, by unanimous consent, the assembly voted to leave the whole matter with Howard, in whom they had implicit confidence.³⁸ On October 19, Howard issued from Charleston special field order number 1, authorizing the agent of the bureau on Edisto Island to form a board of supervisors to aid in making contracts. This board was to consist of the agent "and two other citizens," one to be selected by the land owners, the other by the freedmen. An obligation which was to be signed by the planters before the land should be restored, bound them to secure to the freedmen the crops of the present year and to "take proper steps to enter into contracts" with them. In case the freedmen refused to contract within two months, they thereby surrendered the right to remain on the estates. Captain Alexander P. Ketchum was appointed to take charge of the restoration and to extend Howard's special field order number 1 to other estates affected by Sherman's famous order.³⁹

No sooner had Howard left before difficulties arose. The negroes appointed as their representative on the board a member of their own race. The planters objected on the ground that Howard's order specified that the representatives were to be "citizens." The privilege of citizenship had not yet been conferred upon the negro, and the planters gained their point, obtaining from Howard a statement that only whites were intended by him to constitute the board.⁴⁰

A more serious difficulty occurred because the negroes flatly refused to contract upon any terms, and asked to have the lands leased or sold to them. The idea that they were to be land owners had, by this time, become a passion with them. Some expressed their willingness to contract if the owners would sell them even one acre. Others affirmed that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the entire possession of Edisto Island.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 238-240; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 7; Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 212, 213.

³⁹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 7, 8.

⁴⁰ Tremain, *Two Days of War*, etc., 249-250; *Daily South Carolinian*, Jan. 17, 1866.

The planters at first refused to consider any proposition for lease or sale, and the officers of the freedmen's bureau would not restore the lands until "satisfactory arrangements" had been made with the freedmen. Thus by refusing to contract, the negroes were succeeding in retaining their land.⁴¹

The planters did not ask for a restoration of property which had been confiscated by court proceedings, but for the land of which they had been deprived without due process of law. The following is quoted from the *Charleston Daily Courier*, October 10, 1865: "Upon the theory that the state was never out of the Union, after the cessation of hostilities the citizen can only be deprived of his estate or life by proceedings for the condemnation of the one, or by conviction before a jury as to the other. There must be judicial proceedings, and one must be presumed to be innocent till his guilt be made to appear by proof. To maintain possession of the land seems to be anticipating trial, conviction and sentence."

The deadlock between the planters and the freedmen resulted not only in an increasing ill-feeling between the two classes, but also in an economic loss to the country. When the planting season of 1866 arrived, the whites were unable to regain their lands and the negroes, who were in possession, hesitated to cultivate land which they feared to lose at any moment.⁴² The question was now considered a subject for national legislation. January 5, 1866, a freedmen's bureau bill was introduced into the senate which would make valid the possessory titles granted in pursuance of Sherman's special field order.⁴³ Although the bill failed to pass over the president's veto, it stimulated the hope that definite legislative action would soon settle the difficulty.

As a temporary expedient, Howard wrote a letter to the assistant commissioner for South Carolina, March 8, 1866, ordering him to restore estates which had not been regularly allotted to the negroes.⁴⁴ This dispossessed many negroes of land on

⁴¹ Tremain, *Two Days of War*, etc., 245-277.

⁴² Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 237.

⁴³ Cong. Globe, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Part I, p. 129.

⁴⁴ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 736.

which they had made unauthorized settlements. An investigation showed that only a few who had received possessory titles had occupied the land assigned to them. With the irresponsibility and ignorance of children, they had settled wherever they chose, sometimes on a different island from the one for a portion of which they held a possessory title.⁴⁵ In executing Howard's order, Assistant Commissioner Scott provided that the negroes who had occupied their claims should in certain cases be transferred, so that the land in their possession should be contiguous. The remaining land was to be restored, with the provision that the negroes not holding grants could remain where they had been located until the planters had offered them opportunities of labor upon terms satisfactory to the freedmen's bureau.⁴⁶

At this point the military authorities of the department of South Carolina interfered and ordered all freedmen who refused to contract to remove from the plantations within ten days after such refusal. Army officers were declared judges of the fairness of the contracts, and detachments of troops enforced the order. Scott, in reporting the incident, affirmed that "the officers of these detachments in many instances took from the freedmen their certificates, declared them worthless, and destroyed them in their presence. Upon refusing to accept the contracts offered, the people in several instances were thrust out into the highways, where, being without shelter, many perished from small-pox." The freedmen's bureau, feeling that its power had been usurped by the army, remonstrated. After considerable trouble, an understanding was reached between the two authorities whereby the bureau's rights were recognized.⁴⁷ Regardless of the trouble between the military authority and the freedmen's bureau, much good was accomplished by Scott's order. In June, 1866, it was reported by one of the planters that the number of negroes holding possessory titles was few in comparison with those working under contract.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 114.

⁴⁶ General Orders No. 9. Charleston *Daily Courier*, March 10, 1866.

⁴⁷ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 114, 115.

⁴⁸ Charleston *Daily Courier*, June 6, 1866.

July 16, 1866, congress enacted over the president's veto the following provisions in regard to the land held by the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina. The two years granted by congress for redemption of lands forfeited for non-payment of direct taxes having passed, the sales made by the tax commissioners to heads of families of the African race were "confirmed and established." School farms and certain city lots were to be sold and the proceeds applied to the support of education. To each person holding a valid possessory title, granted in accordance with Sherman's special field order, was to be given a six years' lease of twenty acres. These allotments should be made by the tax commissioners from the land held by them in the parishes of Saint Luke and Saint Helena. The land so leased could be purchased by the holders at the end of six years for \$1.50 an acre. Thus the freedmen were to surrender the plantations for which the owners were clamoring, and receive in exchange a lease for half the number of acres. Restoration of land was to be made after the season's crops had been gathered and the negroes compensated by the planters for any improvements made on the property.⁴⁹

In November, 1866, Assistant Commissioner Scott reported that the lands to which the negroes were to be transferred were being surveyed by the tax commissioner, preparatory to a restoration about the first of January, 1867.⁵⁰ The accompanying table gives the official record of property in possession of the bureau and restored by it. A study of the table will show that the figures do not balance, neither do they correspond to the report of Scott, dated November 1, 1866, in which he stated that 748 houses and lots and 312,888 acres in South Carolina were in possession of the bureau on January 20, 1866.⁵¹ Because of this discrepancy it is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the amount of property restored, or of the time when the restoration took place. It will be noticed that by October, 1869, it had been ordered that

⁴⁹ Statutes at Large, XIV., 173-177.

⁵⁰ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 125.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

all abandoned lands should be restored or dropped from the returns.

DATE OF REPORT	AMOUNT OF PROPERTY IN POSSESSION		AMT. OF PROPERTY RETURNED (In each case since the preceding report)	
	ACRES OF LAND	PIECES OF TOWN PROPERTY	ACRES OF LAND	PIECES OF TOWN PROPERTY
Dec., 1865*.....	435,000	398		384
Nov. 1, 1866.....	96,693	20	15278, plus certain tracts, the acreage whereof was not reported.	626
Nov. 1, 1867.....	85,694	17	- 13,351	10
Oct. 24, 1868†.....	74,669	15	11,025	2

* The report for 1865 was for both Georgia and South Carolina, but other reports show that the bureau held nearly three times as much land in South Carolina as in Georgia.

† The Report of Oct., 1869, stated that it was ordered during the preceding year that all abandoned lands should be restored or dropped from the returns.

This chapter well illustrates how easily errors can be made in a time of strain and excitement which can as easily be criticised in the light of another generation. The story of the government's mismanagement of the problem of the abandoned lands in South Carolina is a sad one, both from the standpoint of the freedmen (whom the government was vainly trying to help), and of the real owners of the property. Three times were the negroes promised land, only to have it taken from them when they felt most secure in its possession. The inevitable result upon the negro was a restlessness and distrust of all white men which redoubled the already heavy burdens of the bureau.

From the standpoint of the dispossessed planters, the attitude of the national government was most inconsistent. They were perforce citizens of the United States, yet they were denied the rights of property guaranteed by the constitution to citizens. Their plantations, houses, even their family tombs, were turned over to the pillage and desecration of an inferior race. Meanwhile, discouraged and penniless, they returned from the war

and were forbidden to resume the cultivation of their plantations by which they could have gained a livelihood. Aside from the injustice done the negroes and the planters, the economic waste was a loss to the whole country. Fertile plantations lay idle or were poorly cultivated,⁵² and ill feeling was engendered which retarded agricultural operations in the state, and left a permanent mark on southern life.

⁵² Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 6, 1866.

CHAPTER IV

LABOR, JUSTICE AND MARRIAGE RELATIONS

The summer of 1865 was a time of uncertainty and confusion for both races. The negroes were awaking to the fact that freedom brought with it responsibilities and deprivations they were ill-fitted to meet. Heretofore shelter, food, clothing and medical care had been provided for them. Now they were freed, not only from slavery, but also from the protection and care of their masters. With nothing to call their own but the clothes they wore and a few trinkets collected in slavery, they were in reality as dependent upon the whites as before the war.

The condition of the planters was no less trying. Defeated and impoverished, they returned from the war to devise some means of providing for themselves and their families. In many instances their homes had been demolished and their former slaves had followed in the wake of Sherman's army. In the coast regions their land had been seized by the government. In the interior, the fields were still theirs, but useless unless by some means planters and laborers could adapt themselves to a new and to them an untried system of labor.

Hindrances to an easy readjustment of laboring conditions were numerous. In the first place, a majority of the planters were thoroughly convinced that negroes would not work without compulsion,¹ and that in consequence free labor in the South was doomed to failure. But even though the negroes would work, the South Carolinians had no money with which to pay them, and the freedmen would not trust to promises of a fair division of the harvest. They showed a great aversion to signing any kind of written contract drawn up by the planters, fearing that by so doing they might sign away their freedom.² In the up-country, where farms were smaller and there had been more of a personal touch between master and slaves, the negroes were more in-

¹ Schurz, Report, 16. Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 25, 97, 101.

² Schurz, Report, 30.

clined to remain in their old homes and "work along" until some definite arrangement might be made. Those from the large plantations were restless and eager to try their freedom by idleness and vagrancy.³ In some instances the negroes were uninformed of their emancipation, and kept in apparent slavery.⁴

The situation between employer and employee was one which could be met only by the intervention of a third party. Early in 1865 the Union army in South Carolina undertook to act as mediator. Its officers were empowered to make written contracts for the contending parties and to collect a fee of 50 cents for each signer.⁵ It was found that the negroes' aversion to signing papers disappeared when they felt that their rights would be protected by the army. Unfortunately, this confidence was in many instances betrayed, and contracts were approved by officers of the army which were most unjust to the freedmen. It was evident that the officers' interest was largely centered in the number of fees which they could procure.⁶ In some of the contracts, clauses were inserted which bound the freedmen to work off any indebtedness which they might thereafter incur. General Hatch, commanding at Charleston, noted this tendency toward peonage and forbade any such arrangements.⁷ The ignorance of the freedmen was sometimes taken advantage of by purposely obscuring the meaning of the contract. An instance is recorded where the laborers were promised "one-third of seven-twelfths" of the crop.⁸ As a rule, a share of the crops, rather than wages, was promised. The share varied from one-tenth to one-half, from which was to be deducted the expenses of the freedmen while the crop was being made. In some districts one-half of the crop was the universal rate.⁹

³ *Ibid.*, 29; *The Nation*, I., 107 (July 27, 1865).

⁴ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 222; Schurz, Report, 18.

⁵ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 26; Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Schurz, Report, 30.

⁷ Reid, *After the War*, 84; Schurz, Report, 22.

⁸ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 259.

⁹ *Ibid.*; *The Nation*, I., 238 (Aug. 24, 1865); Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 99.

When the freedmen's bureau became organized in South Carolina, the supervision of negro labor naturally fell upon its officers. In Saxton's first circular to the freed people he urged them to prove their right to freedom by showing a will to work. "Freedmen, let not a day pass ere you find some work for your hands to do, and do it with all your might. Plough and plant, dig and hoe, cut and gather in the harvest. Let it be seen that where in slavery there was raised a blade of corn or a pound of cotton, in freedom there will be two."¹⁰

To facilitate the making of contracts, Saxton established in each district a board consisting of the sub-assistant commissioner and two residents of the district, one chosen by each contracting party.¹¹ Where no agent was within reach, the nearest post-master was authorized to forward the duplicates of contracts to the assistant commissioner.¹² Saxton sent to his agents a form of contract to be used, which bound the planter to provide quarters, fuel, substantial and healthy rations, and all necessary medical attendance and supplies in case of sickness. The rate of wages or share in the harvest was left in each case to be determined by the agent. Contracts were to be made in duplicate, a copy given to each party, and a record of the transaction kept in the books of the bureau.¹³ Agents were forbidden to collect fees for witnessing contracts.¹⁴ Bureau officials were also intrusted with the guardianship of freed orphans, and were authorized to apprentice them in conformity with the state law regulating the apprenticeship of free white children.¹⁵

In the fall of 1865 many complaints were made to the bureau that contracts had been broken. The negroes reported cases of cruelty on the part of the whites, many of which on examination proved to be groundless. But it is undoubtedly true that much

¹⁰ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, II., 230.

¹¹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 95.

¹² *Ibid.*, 105.

¹³ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, pp. 89, 90.

¹⁴ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 113; This was done after Scott had assumed control of bureau affairs in S. C. Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 113.

¹⁵ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 94.

oppression and violence existed, especially in the interior portions of the state, which were unguarded by the army. Saxton found it necessary to threaten the confiscation of lands of those who failed to inform the negroes of their freedom.¹⁶ Sidney Andrews wrote in October, 1865, that he had heard two of the native South Carolinians admit that "many negroes had been beaten to death during the summer" in Edgefield district.¹⁷ Officers of the bureau sent to Saxton numerous instances of cruelty. The following are typical examples of such reports:

"One man in Anderson district was shot and killed in presence of his wife, who begged for his life. Two other men were tied up, cruelly flogged, then shot, (and it is believed killed, as the men have disappeared,) while the wife of one of the men received 50 lashes. On one plantation in Barnwell district three colored women were severely whipped, and on another a woman was unmercifully flogged because she refused to leave the place. Four white citizens, with a white soldier, broke into the house of a freedman, who was sick, tied his hands behind him, and swung him up to a post for an hour or more, then chained him and left him so for more than two days. On some of the plantations the freedmen do not get a share of all of the produce, the planters withholding the cotton crop on some plea best known to themselves. This latter practice is almost universal throughout the state."¹⁸

In many instances negroes in the fall were sent to the coast, sometimes on the promise that their employers would meet them there and pay them for their year's labor. The failure of the planters to appear left the deluded negroes to gain their living in a strange place as best they might, which was usually either by stealing or by becoming dependent upon the supplies of the freedmen's bureau.¹⁹ These statements were probably largely based on the negroes themselves.

Carl Schurz, after an investigation of southern conditions in the summer of 1865, reported that contracts were more frequently broken by the blacks than by the whites, and that "very many plantations under extensive cultivation were entirely abandoned"

¹⁶ Schurz, Report, 18; Reynolds, Reconstruction in S. C., 4.

¹⁷ Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 220.

¹⁸ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., pp. 222, 229; *The Nation*, I., 780 (Dec. 21, 1865).

¹⁹ *Ibid*; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., pp. 224, 226; Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 207.

by the laborers. Disastrous as this was to the planters, it is natural that the negroes were not seriously impressed with the obligation of the written word. The freedmen's bureau returned many such negroes to the plantations.²⁰

The question naturally arises as to the power which could enforce contracts drawn up by bureau officials. At first Saxton instructed his officers to allow the civil magistrates to administer justice, provided they acted as agents of the bureau, received negro testimony and applied to cases involving negroes the state laws intended for the whites. In the event of a refusal on the part of the magistrates to comply with these terms, the officers of the freedmen's bureau were to become the sole arbiters in all cases in which a negro was a party.²¹ In June, 1865, provost courts, consisting of an officer of the army and two citizens, were established by an order from the commander of the department of the South. These courts were to adjudicate all cases in which a freedman was either plaintiff or defendant. Sentences administered by them were not to exceed \$100 and imprisonment for two months.²² Thus it will be seen that there were three conflicting tribunals in South Carolina; civil, bureau, and provost courts.

An understanding between the provisional governor and the army was reached whereby the civil authorities surrendered all cases involving freedmen to the provost courts.²³ When the offices of assistant commissioner and state commander were merged in June, 1866, Assistant Commissioner Scott gained control of provost courts and was enabled to supervise jurisdiction over the negro.²⁴ Bureau officers adjudicated and enforced judgments in trivial cases, and referred more serious matters to the nearest provost courts.²⁵ Howard limited the sentences pronounced by his officials to a fine of \$100 and imprisonment for 30

²⁰ Schurz, Report, 30, 49.

²¹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 90.

²² Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, p. 117.

²³ Annual Cyclopaedia, 1865, p. 758; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 23.

²⁴ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116.

²⁵ Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1040.

days.²⁶ It was reported from South Carolina that the freedmen preferred the bureau courts to those of the army; and that they sometimes came on foot from 100 to 150 miles to obtain justice from the bureau, rather than intrust their cases to the military officers stationed near them.²⁷

To the leaders of congress the continued military supervision of the southern states seemed necessary. Reports reached them that the negroes were being cruelly oppressed by the native whites and that some of the latter had openly avowed that "the unconstitutional emancipation proclamation" would be set aside as soon as southern representatives were readmitted to congress.²⁸ The North felt that its worst fears were justified when in December, 1865, the South Carolina legislature enacted a code of laws for the government of the negro. These laws, known as the black code, although giving to negroes the right to acquire, own and dispose of property, undertook to prescribe most minutely the relations between master and servants. Negroes were not to be absent from the premises nor to receive visitors without the master's consent. On the farms, they were to "rise at the dawn in the morning, feed, water and care for the animals on the farm, do the usual and needful work about the premises, prepare their meals for the day, if required by the master, and begin the farm or other work by sunrise."²⁹ The black code was interpreted by the North as an attempt to re-enslave the negro, and was promptly nullified by order of General Sickles.³⁰ Congress was now thoroughly convinced that military protection of the negro must be maintained. The system of military courts³¹ wrought great injustice both to whites and blacks. On the one hand reports were made that they were partial to the whites, and that they could be

²⁶ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 719; Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 22, 23.

²⁷ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116.

²⁸ Schurz, Report, 17, 18.

²⁹ McPherson, Political Manual, 1866, pp. 34-36. Reynolds, Reconstruction in S. C., 27-31.

³⁰ McPherson, Political Manual, 1866, pp. 36-38. Cox, Three Decades, 416.

³¹ By military courts is meant both the army and bureau courts.

bribed to do whatever the planters wished.³² Southern testimony presents a picture of unprecedented disregard of the Anglo-Saxon's claim to a fair trial. Numerous instances are given of the arrest and imprisonment of worthy citizens upon the single statement of a negro. The following are a few examples of evidence against the bureau given by Southerners: Colonel Brooks of Columbia, tells that his father, who in 1866 was living in Edgefield County, was arrested and, without being given time to put on his shoes, was made to walk barefoot half a mile. He asked why he was arrested, and the only answer given was that he had just entertained at dinner a young man who the day before "had a fuss" with a negro woman. When the crops were under cultivation the negroes frequently struck for higher wages, and nothing but the intervention of the freedmen's bureau could induce them to return. "That inducement could only be effected by the planter or farmer paying to the agent from ten to twenty dollars per head. This sum was simply a perquisite of the agent, and when paid, the negro always returned to his labors, though not receiving a cent of additional compensation. It was frequently the case that the same planter or farmer would have to compensate the bureau agent two or three times during one year, or else lose his crops." A negro lodged complaint against his employer. The officer received a gallon of whiskey from the defendant and called the matter settled. It is charged that the bureau agents fined the planters in accordance with what they thought they could get from them, and that they would even whip the negroes if paid to do so by the planters.³³

In contrast to the preceding is the report from the acting assistant commissioner for the bureau district of Charleston: "So judicious has been the administration of justice by the officers on duty in this district that applications are frequently made by whites that their differences may be heard and adjudicated by the

³² Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 225. Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 203.

³³ Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., Report of the Committee, pp. 441, 442; *The National Republican*, as quoted in *Charleston Daily Courier*, July 9, 1866; Private letters in possession of the writer.

sub-assistant commissioners, they having more confidence in the military civic courts than in their own local magistrates.”³⁴ The truth is that everything depended upon the character of the individual agents and officers. Were they wise and just, their decisions received the respect of both contending parties; but if they themselves were unscrupulous, the frauds committed by them brought odium and disgrace upon the whole system.

In October, 1866, civil law was restored in South Carolina, except on the sea islands and the military reservation at Hilton Head.³⁵ This resulted in many complaints of injustice toward the negro, especially in cases where the whites had broken their contracts. The freedmen were prevented from taking their cases to the state courts, for the law required every plaintiff to give bond for twice the amount for which he sued. It was reported that no magistrate “would bind over a white man for trial for the perpetration of any outrage, however villainous, unless the freedman complaining against him would give security to the amount of \$200 or \$300.”³⁶ Usually the negroes were unable to meet these conditions. Officers advised the re-establishment of military and bureau courts, and in some instances this was done.³⁷ After the passage of the civil rights bill, April 9, 1866, freedmen were privileged to sue in United States Courts in all cases where there was discrimination because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.³⁸

Having seen how cases between whites and blacks were adjudicated, let us return to the subject of contracts. Although those formed for the year 1865 did not on the whole prove successful, the freedmen’s bureau and most of the planters were anxious for the negroes to contract for the following year. But the freedmen, almost with one accord, refused to bind themselves to the planters. Doubtless this attitude was largely due to their

³⁴ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 118; Schurz, Report, 48.

³⁵ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 738; Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 117.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 123; Report of the Sec. of War., 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 669, 670.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 670-672.

³⁸ Statutes at Large, XIV., 27-29.

expectation that land would be given them at Christmas or New Year's.³⁹ Saxton, in a general circular, tried to correct the impression, and called upon the freedmen to enter into contracts at once.⁴⁰

Three kinds of contracts were adopted in South Carolina; agreements that the negroes should work for regular wages, agreements that they should work for the planters for a share of the crop, and agreements in which the planter furnished the land and equipment, the renter paying a portion of the crop. The first system was used by most of the Northern immigrants and by a few Southerners with ready money at command.⁴¹ It proved the most satisfactory to both parties. The last mentioned plan was largely confined to the sea islands, and was reported as not successful.⁴² The Darlington planters met in December and adopted a form of contract which received the approval both of Saxton and of the Sumter, Kershaw and Clarendon planters. This provided that the freedmen should receive one-third of the crop, and contained many of the regulations for the government of the negro found in the black code.⁴³ This contract was not accepted readily by the freedmen, with the result that the New Year opened with but few agreements as to labor.

Much confusion followed. Some negroes, who refused to work for the terms offered, remained on the plantations and were a constant drain upon the planters' supplies. Others, ejected from their former homes, became vagrants or beneficiaries of the bureau's bounty. There was great need of a controlling influence. January 8, 1866, Saxton issued an order forbidding plan-

³⁹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 26; Andrews, *The South Since the War*, 221, 222; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 229.

⁴⁰ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 95.

⁴¹ The rate of wages varied greatly, ranging from \$20 a year with no rations to \$180 with rations. See foot notes below.

⁴² *The Nation*, I., 393 (Sept. 28, 1865); Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 123; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Jan. 5, 1866; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 234.

⁴³ See Appendix A following for a copy of the contract. The Darlington form of contract was later repudiated by Saxton. Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 240.

ters to remove freedmen from their plantations unless the latter had refused to enter into "fair and reasonable contracts." No freedman could be removed without the consent of an agent of the bureau.⁴⁴ Saxton's order was supplemented by one from General Sickles, dated January 23. This forbade a freedman to remain on a plantation if he had refused to work there "after having been offered employment by the owner or lessee on fair terms, approved by the agent of the freedmen's bureau." It also provided that vagrants should be put to work on public roads and fortifications, or be hired out to labor for a period of one year.⁴⁵ This order was commended by the *Charleston Daily News*, which reported on January 25 that the negroes in the upper districts had generally gone to work, and that on the seaboard they showed more readiness to enter into contracts.

When Scott became assistant commissioner for South Carolina, he repudiated the Darlington contract and recommended one which differed from it in the following respects: Freedmen were not to invite visitors upon the premises, nor to absent themselves from the same *during working hours*, without consent. Freedmen were to perform reasonable daily tasks ten hours a day, *unless the weather was such as actually to forbid labor, or they were excused by the employer*. In such cases there were to be *no deductions*. If absent more than *three* days without leave, unless on account of sickness or other unavoidable cause, a freedman should be subject to dismissal from the plantation, and forfeiture of his or her share of the crop. The employer, however, should pay the party dismissed \$5.00 a month for full hands, deducting advances. *Neither party* should sell or use any portion of the crop until after division of the same, without the consent of the other party, and each employee should be provided with a pass book in which entries of advances, absences, etc., should be kept. Each head of a family should be allowed *one-half* acre of land for his own use; quarter-acre tracts being allotted to all others. Employees should not be compelled

⁴⁴ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 229.

⁴⁵ *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 24, 1866.

to work upon the Fourth of July, Christmas, New Year's, national and state Thanksgiving and fast days, unless the work to be done was a work of necessity or mercy. No deduction should be made for not working on these days. Female employees who were heads of families were required to work only one-half day on Saturdays.⁴⁶ A comparison of these terms with those of the Darlington contract, found in Appendix A, will show that Scott annulled the most objectionable provisions of that document.

By May, 1866, the assistant commissioner reported that the negroes "had entered into contracts with a willingness and unanimity beyond the expectation of the most sanguine persons in the State. . . . Planters asserted that in most cases they were 'doing more work than was ever done under the old system of forced labor.'"⁴⁷ However, reports of outrages were numerous, especially from Barnwell, Edgefield, Newberry, Laurens and Chester districts. There, mounted bands of "regulators" rode about the country terrifying the negroes, and committing many acts of cruelty and depredation toward freedmen and northern whites. It was reported that they had made an offer to the planters that upon the payment of a fixed sum per head they would kill any freedmen who would not contract.⁴⁸ The condition was so bad that for a time General Sickles contemplated the removal to Columbia of the entire negro population from Edgefield, Newberry and Laurens. The citizens of that section of the state affirmed that the regulators were men from Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas who had been in the southern army, and who were prevented by their crimes from returning home.⁴⁹

The results in 1866 were not satisfactory. Severe drought had greatly damaged the crops. The corn crop upon which the people largely depended for food was reported as an utter fail-

⁴⁶ *Weekly Record*, February 10, 1866.

⁴⁷ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737.

⁴⁸ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 112, 113.

⁴⁹ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 234; *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 21, 1866; *Philadelphia Enquirer*, March 16, 1866; *New York Times*, June 13, 1866; The Steedman-Fullerton Report; *Newberry Herald*, March 14, 1866, as quoted in *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 24, 1866.

ure.⁵⁰ The acting assistant commissioner for Sumter, Darlington, Chesterfield, Marlborough and Marion reported that in his district contracts had generally been regarded by both parties.⁵¹ On James Island it was estimated that the freedmen would realize about \$300 each for the year's work.⁵² With the exceptions given above, the outlook at the close of the year was discouraging. Contracts had been broken, many of both races were actually destitute, violence and outrages against the negroes were of common occurrence, and there was much ill-feeling on all sides. This condition of affairs was largely attributed by officers of the bureau to the restoration of civil law.⁵³

Before the contracts for 1866 had expired, the freedmen of South Carolina became possessed of the desire to emigrate. June 21, President Johnson had signed an act by which public land was opened to settlement.⁵⁴ *The Nation* reports that thousands of negroes, especially from the interior and northern districts of North Carolina, emigrated to Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Liberia, and that many of them had abandoned plantations which they had bound themselves by contracts to cultivate. Those who settled on the public lands were promised six months' rations after their arrival. Others went on contracts which secured to them from six to twelve dollars a month.⁵⁵

The decreasing supply of labor resulted in the spring of 1867 in more liberal contracts. Greater kindness⁵⁶ and consideration on the part of the planters were reported. The crops for the year were greatly damaged by wet weather and the caterpillar, so that the returns were most inadequate. "The offices of agents were thronged with planters and freedmen calling upon them to settle differences and divide crops," and in many instances the

⁵⁰ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 113, 114, 118; Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737.

⁵¹ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 119, 120.

⁵² Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 118.

⁵³ Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 669-672.

⁵⁴ Statutes at Large, XIV., 66, 67.

⁵⁵ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 123; *The Nation*, Vol. III, 203, 263, 511; *Ibid.*, IV., 43, 143, 227.

⁵⁶ Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 670.

books of the planters showed that the negroes had spent their wages in advance. The price of cotton was so low that the planters were in debt as a result of the year's work. In the following winter there was much suffering and special agents were sent out by the bureau to distribute supplies to the needy of both races.⁵⁷

The report for 1868 shows improvement both in the terms of the contracts and in the manner in which they were kept. Politics had begun to influence the relation between planters and laborers, and in some districts the land-owners formed clubs in which they agreed to hire no laborers whose vote they could not control. Nevertheless there were fewer cases of outrage than in the preceding year, and it was conceded that the freedmen were "doing better labor and with less trouble than at any previous time since the emancipation."⁵⁸ After 1868, the bureau's supervision of labor ceased.

The freedmen's bureau assumed control of another form of contract, marriages among the negroes. Before the war, the system of slavery had tended to promote great laxness in marital relations. Favorite slaves as a special favor were accorded a marriage ceremony, but in most cases an agreement between the contracting parties, sanctioned by the master, was deemed sufficient. The relationship so easily assumed, was as easily broken, and but little idea of the sacredness of the marriage bond was known to the negroes.⁵⁹ The coming of freedom had tended to complicate an already disordered condition. Negroes found themselves free to renew former marriages which had been terminated by the sale of one of the contracting parties. In many instances one man had two or more living wives, each of whom in turn had more than one husband. This was the problem which confronted the freedmen's bureau, and which it endeavored to solve.

Saxton was deeply impressed with the importance of promot-

⁵⁷ Howard, Report, Oct. 24, 1868, pp. 27, 28.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁹ Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. 1, p. 1041.

ing proper domestic relationships among the negroes. In his first circular to the freedmen he called upon them to lead virtuous lives and to "study, in church and out of it, the rules of the marriage relation issued from these headquarters."⁶⁰ The following are some of the rules to which he referred: Parties living together as husband and wife at the time of emancipation were acknowledged as legally married, but they were required to have their marriage confirmed by a minister (if it had not already been done) and to obtain from him a certificate. Ministers were authorized to charge one dollar each for these certificates. When a negro, living alone at the time of emancipation, had a former wife restored to him by freedom, he was charged to receive her as his lawful wife. In case there were two or more such wives, only one of whom had borne him children, the mother of his children should be received by him.⁶¹ Where the claims of different wives were equal, the presumption is that he could choose between them. Chaplain J. H. Fowler was appointed by Saxton to carry out the foregoing order in South Carolina and Georgia.⁶² Later on, the work in South Carolina was intrusted to the Reverend Mansfield French.⁶³ Clergymen were instructed to make a return to the bureau of all marriages solemnized by them, and a careful registration was kept.⁶⁴

At first there was some confusion and excitement among the negroes, especially in cases where a man had to choose between two or more wives. The requirement of a money payment for certificates which they were forced to obtain caused considerable inconvenience to the negroes, and criticism from the southern whites.⁶⁵ But on the whole this department of the bureau's work was beneficial, bringing order out of the chaos of confused domestic relationships, and stimulating the freedmen to purer habits of life.

[TO BE CONTINUED IN NUMBER III]

⁶⁰ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 231.

⁶¹ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, pp. 108-111.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶³ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 124, 125.

⁶⁴ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 23, 45.

⁶⁵ Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess.; Report of the Committee, p. 442.

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CHAPTERS V-VIII

By LAURA JOSEPHINE WEBSTER

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

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CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT RELIEF

The impoverishing effects of war have never been more keenly felt than in the Southern States after the Civil War. The confederacy had strained every resource to maintain its existence. Boys and old men had filled up the rapidly depleting ranks of the army, leaving at home only women, children, and negroes to provide food for themselves and for the soldiers. In the midst of this struggle came General Sherman, burning homes and emptying scanty stores. Fortunes were risked and lost, and finally, in many instances, the land alone was left. Naturally, the owners tried to sell some of their real estate, but they met with little success, for all were poor alike. The daily newspapers of the period sometimes contain in one issue as many as thirty notices of bankruptcy.¹

The negroes shared the destitution of their former owners. To the great credit of their race, many of them had faithfully served during the war, showing a loyalty to their masters' interests and an unselfish devotion to duty that have no parallel in history. General Howard admitted, in his first report, that as a general rule the Southerners were caring as well as they could for the negroes who remained on the plantations.² But thousands had left their homes and were looking to the government for support. Even among those who had been assigned land along the seacoast, there were many orphaned children and adults too old and infirm to work, and the able-bodied were destitute until the crops could be harvested. Temporary help from some source was necessary.

¹ Sen. Doc., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, Vol. I, p. 118; Contemporary Newspapers.

² Gen. Howard's Report, Dec., 1865, pp. 15-16.

The first freedman's bureau bill provided that "the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct."³ In careless hands, such an unlimited opportunity of giving might easily have engendered idleness and pauperism. Already, because of the large supplies given out by the army, many negroes and poor whites seemed to think they were to be permanent recipients of food.⁴ Howard recognized the need of precaution and ordered that aid should be given only "to the helpless and destitute classes of refugees and freedmen, the sick, the very old, and orphans too young to earn their own support."⁵ However, advances of rations were furnished to able-bodied but destitute refugees and freedmen, and a lien taken upon their crops.⁶ To prevent fraud, only small issues were made at a time, and the order had to be signed by a commissioned officer, approved by a commanding officer of the post or station, and where practicable by the assistant commissioner.⁷ Whitelaw Reid reported in 1865 that the negroes were making haste to repay the government for these loans.⁸ Statistics show a lessening amount of rations issued in the fall of that year.⁹

Early in 1866 there were two causes for an increased need of government relief. The hundreds of negroes who had flocked to the coast to receive their Christmas gifts of forty acres and a mule now filled Charleston and vicinity with a penniless and disappointed class of the unemployed. In the second place, planters were anxious to resume the cultivation of their lands, but had

³ U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 13, p. 508.

⁴ Gen. Howard's report, Dec., 1865, p. 15.

⁵ Ex. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 6.

⁶ Ex. Doc., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸ Reid, Whitelaw, *The South After the War*, 92. When the sea islands were restored to their former owners, Gen. Howard directed that the freedmen should not be required to repay these advances. *Charleston Daily Courier*, July 4, 1866.

⁹ *The Nation*, I, 780.

nothing wherewith to feed the laborers until the harvest. In this emergency, the freedmen's bureau issued rations to the planters of South Carolina for the resident freedmen in their employ. The price charged was the actual cost of the provisions at place of delivery, and payment could be made either in money or by giving a lien on the crops.¹⁰

February 10, 1866, Assistant Commissioner Scott issued from Charleston General Order No. 8, which reads as follows:

"I. (A camp for destitute and unemployed freed persons) will be established on the grounds near Magnolia Peninsula. II. All freed persons residing in this city to whom rations are issued, and all who may come here, will report at once to the officers who may be designated by the Assistant Commissioner to command the camp, for assignment to quarters. III. Tents for shelter, etc., will be drawn up by the officer in charge upon requisition approved by these headquarters. IV. All rations issued to destitute refugees and freedmen will be issued by the camp as soon as it is organized, and such rations will be issued to the freedmen only who are unable to procure employment after diligent exertions. V. Mr. Gilbert Pillsbury is charged with the organization and temporary superintendence of the camp, until some commissioned officer is designated by the Assistant Commissioner to take command. VI. All persons desiring to employ laborers will apply in writing to these Headquarters or in person to Mr. Pillsbury."¹¹

A liberal interpretation of the word refugee was made to include such destitute whites as were in real need of government aid for their support. General Scott reported that "on issuing days might be seen the white lady of respectability standing side by side with the African, both awaiting their turn to receive their weekly supply of rations."¹²

From the first, General Howard and his assistants felt that relief by the national government should be only a temporary measure and that as soon as possible all dependents should be cared for by their own communities.¹³ With this idea in view, Circular No. 10 was issued from Washington, August 22, 1866, which announced that on and after the first of October of that year issues of rations should be discontinued, except to refugees

¹⁰ The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 1, 10, 13, 1866.

¹¹ *Weekly Record*, Feb. 17, 1866.

¹² The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 1, 1866. Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 113.

¹³ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 95.

and freedmen in regularly organized hospitals and orphan asylums already in existence.¹⁴ This order came at an inopportune time for South Carolina. In May, 1866, two tornadoes had swept over the coast region of the state, destroying crops and demolishing the freedmen's village on Port Royal Island and nearly all of Saint Helensville.¹⁵ Other agencies combined to cause an almost complete failure of the corn supply of the entire state during the winter of 1866 and 1867 so that thousands faced actual starvation.¹⁶

The state legislature considered the matter of relief, but a bill to provide corn for the destitute failed to pass.¹⁷ Finally the suffering became so great that congress, by joint resolution, authorized a special relief fund from money already appropriated to the freedmen's bureau.¹⁸ Accordingly, half a million dollars was expended to relieve the famine in the Southern States, and in addition help was sent by the Southern Relief Association. Special agents, who worked without pay, distributed supplies from these two sources to the destitute of both races. The official reports state that "the conditions in remote districts were appalling. Women and children in a starving condition flocked to officers of the bureau, walking from twenty to forty miles to reach them."¹⁹ In 1867, during the months from May to October, 19,124 whites and 35,698 negroes were aided in South Carolina by the special relief fund and \$110,138.09 of public money was expended.²⁰

In 1868, the freedmen's bureau again dispensed relief, especially to negroes who had planted crops but were unable to support themselves until the harvest. In such cases help was given only after an investigation had proved that enough food supplies were under cultivation to repay advances and to support the family

¹⁴ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 712.

¹⁵ *The Nation*, Vol. 2, p. 658.

¹⁶ *Charleston Advocate*, Feb. 23, 1867; Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 670, 671.

¹⁷ *The Charleston Advocate*, Feb. 23 and March 2, 1867.

¹⁸ U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 15, p. 28.

¹⁹ Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 670, 671.

²⁰ Gen. Howard's Report, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 30.

during the next year. In every case of issue, formal bonds were taken.²¹ After 1868, no supplies were given by the bureau.²² The accompanying table gives the number of rations issued to refugees and freedmen in South Carolina each year, with the corresponding number issued to all the districts covered by the bureau. It will be noticed that the supply decreased each year (except for the Special Relief Fund of 1867), and that South Carolina received a large share of the distribution.²³ The figures are from the reports of General Howard.

THE NUMBER OF RATIONS ISSUED TO DEPENDENT REFUGEES AND
FREEDMEN FROM JUNE 1, 1865, TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1868,
IN THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA

	REFUGEES	FREEDMEN	TOTAL
June 1, 1865			
to	124,144	987,703	1,111,847
Sept. 1, 1866			
to	242,643	810,309	1,052,952
Sept. 1, 1867			
Sept. 1, 1867*			
to	17,927	93,626	111,553
Sept. 1, 1868			

* This does not appear to include the additional expenditure of \$110,-138.09 by the Special Relief Fund of 1867. Gen. Howard's Report, Oct. 20, 1869, p. 7. Circular No. 8, issued June 20, 1865 reads as follows:

"The following ration, being substantially that established by General Orders No. 30, War Dept., 1864, is republished. *Ration*—Pork or bacon, 10 oz., in lieu of fresh beef; fresh beef, 16 oz., flour and soft bread, 16 oz., twice a week; hard bread, 12 oz., in lieu of flour or soft bread; corn meal, 16 oz., 5 times a week; beans, peas, or hominy, 10 lbs., to 100 rations; sugar, 8 lbs., to 100 rations; vinegar, 2 qts., to 100 rations; candles, adamantine or star, 8 oz., to 100 rations; soap, 2 lbs., to 100 rations; salt, 2 lbs., to 100 rations; pepper, 20 oz., to 100 rations. Women and children, in addition to the foregoing ration, are allowed roasted rye coffee, at the rate of 10 lbs., or tea at the rate of 15 oz., to each 100 rations. Children under 14 yrs. of age are allowed half rations. Issues of provisions on short periods of time, not exceeding 7 days, signed by a commissioned officer and approved by the commanding officer of the post or station, and when practicable by the assistant commissioner." Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47 (Gen. Howard's Report).

²¹ Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 1, p. 1041.

²² Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, pp. 20-21.

²³ The number of districts varied from 12 to 14.

Total from

June 1, 1865

to

384,714

1,891,638

2,276,352

Sept. 1, 1868

TOTAL FOR ALL THE DISTRICTS OF THE BUREAU

	REFUGEES	FREEDMEN	TOTAL
June 1, 1865			
to	4,507,922	8,904,451½	13,412,373½
Sept. 1, 1866			
Sept. 1, 1866			
to	692,548	3,504,629	4,197,177
Sept. 1, 1867			
Sept. 1, 1867*			
to	238,119	2,564,359	2,802,478
Sept. 1, 1868			
Total from			
June 1, 1865			
to	5,438,589	14,973,439½	20,412,028½
Sept. 1, 1868			

Supplies of clothing were also given out by the freedmen's bureau. A large amount of army clothing, condemned as unfit for the troops, was distributed to the poor and needy.²⁴ In addition, \$252,547.35 of clothing was purchased and distributed in the various districts. There is no record to show the proportion received by the freedmen and refugees in South Carolina.

What was the effect of this benevolent paternalism on the part of the government? Doubtless there were some who took undue advantage of the government's liberality. For example, an instance is on record of a negro who walked one hundred miles to obtain half a bushel of corn meal from the bureau, when in the same time he might have earned nine times the amount by honest labor.²⁵ Generals Steedman and Fullerton, sent out by the secretary of war to make an official investigation of the freedmen's bureau, charged General Saxton with too free a bestowal of government supplies and commended his successor, General Scott, for reducing the issue of rations.²⁶ But as the

²⁴ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 7.

²⁵ Winston, George T., *Relation of the Whites to the Negroes*, 113.

²⁶ *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 16 and July 4, 1866.

Nation pointed out, such a charge was of little moment, coming just at the time when great destitution was reported from South Carolina and General Scott was asking permission to issue an increased number of rations.²⁷

Strange as it may seem, a careful study of the situation leads to the conclusion that where error was made, it was usually made on the side of extreme caution rather than of excessive liberality. So great was the desire to avoid giving too freely, that a system of red tape was established, so inelastic that in many cases real sufferers could obtain no relief. The joint committee on reconstruction reported that personal attendance was required of all applicants for help. Many maimed, bedridden, and infirm persons were unable to comply with such orders and it was reported that some had starved to death.²⁸ Colonel U. R. Brooks, of Columbia, testified that an old negro, formerly belonging to his father, put himself entirely in the hands of the bureau and met the same fate. It will be noticed that the order for the personal attendance of applicants came from the army, and there is no doubt that its interference caused much suffering for which the bureau was blamed.

On the whole, this department of the bureau, in which there was so much opportunity for graft and unwise liberality, and in which there was interference from the army, was handled with prudence and foresight. The loan of provisions to planters for the use of their employees was commended by the *Charleston Daily Courier* of February 1, 1866, as follows: "The provision thus made is humane and judicious, and will prove of great assistance in facilitating the efforts to bring quickly to cultivation lands which might have been unemployed. Nor less judicious is the liberal interpretation of 'refugees.'"²⁹

Closely connected with the distribution of rations and clothing, was the medical department of the bureau. During the war, the army had undertaken the care of sick negroes. Upon the

²⁷ The *Nation*, Vol. 2, p. 754.

²⁸ Report of Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 223; Report of Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part VII, p. 41.

²⁹ See Page 69.

organization of the bureau, General Howard at once appointed Surgeon Caleb W. Horner as chief medical officer of the bureau, and William R. DeWitt, of the United States Volunteers, was assigned to duty as surgeon in chief for South Carolina. The bureau was assisted in its medical care of the refugees and freedmen both by the army, benevolent associations, and the civil authorities. Medical and hospital provisions were supplied by the surgeon general of the army, and co-operation with civil authorities was encouraged. The *Nation* of March 1, 1866, quotes Surgeon DeWitt as saying that the civil authorities had promised to pay all the physicians, stewards, nurses and cooks and that the bureau had only to furnish medicine for the freed people.³⁰

By November 1, 1866, General Howard reported that the benefits of the medical department had spread to the remote parts of the state and that its work was gratefully appreciated.³¹ A year later, the policy of the bureau was to diminish the number of hospitals and asylums, and to replace them where necessary with dispensaries. It was found that the latter were more economical and that they tended to make the beneficiaries more provident.³² By June 30, 1869, the medical work of the bureau in the state was turned over to the civil authorities. In many cases, hospital equipment and medicines were given them by the bureau as an inducement to undertake the care of the sick.³³ No detailed record of such transfers is given in the reports, so it is impossible to know how much of this was done in South Carolina.

The work of the medical department of the bureau is worthy of praise. In fact, much more was reported as done in South Carolina than in any other bureau district. During the year ending June 30, 1868, over six times as many refugees were treated in South Carolina as in the other twelve districts combined.³⁴ This may have been caused largely by the co-operation

³⁰ The *Nation* II, 260.

³¹ Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737.

³² Messages and Documents, 1867-1868, p. 478.

³³ Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, p. 17.

³⁴ Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 12.

with civil authorities. If so, credit is due for the conciliatory policy that made such co-operation possible. It is worthy of notice that among adverse criticisms of the bureau, this department escaped. All classes gratefully acknowledged its helpfulness and gladly gave it their co-operation. It did a great work in preventing, as well as in curing, disease. The reports record over 4,000 vaccinations and a yearly lowering of the percentage of deaths among those treated.

With so much that speaks for itself of the ability of the man in charge of this department in South Carolina, we are not surprised to find the following in the report of Robert Reyborn, chief medical officer for the bureau: "While so many excelled, it may appear invidious to distinguish, yet the energy and marked administrative ability of Dr. M. K. Hogan, surgeon-in-chief, district of South Carolina and late brevet colonel and surgeon, United States Volunteers, entitle him to special mention."³⁵

³⁵ Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, pp. 16, 17. Surgeon Hogan replaced Surgeon DeWitt sometime after Nov. 1, 1866.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION

Before the war, South Carolina maintained no state system of public schools, as we now understand the term. She did, however, support free schools for children whose parents were unable to give them any educational advantages. These schools were strictly for the indigent class and attendance was not compulsory.¹ By a state law of 1834, it was made a punishable offense to teach any slave to read or write.² As a matter of fact, this law was not strictly enforced, and numbers of house slaves were taught by their owners, but the great mass of them were of course uneducated. In 1860 there were in the state 9,914 free negroes, over 3,000 of whom lived in Charleston, where in their own school many had received some instruction.³ The city granted a license to the teachers of free negroes, with a provision that a white person should be present during the instruction.⁴

When Charleston was occupied by the Union forces in February, 1865, James Redpath, of Massachusetts, was at once appointed superintendent of education for the city. He immediately took possession of the public school buildings and reopened them for the use of black and white children in separate rooms. Employment was offered to all the former teachers of the city. Some accepted the offer, while other teachers were procured from the North and from the free negro class. The New York and New England societies assumed the responsibility for the teachers' salaries.⁵ Redpath reported that 11 schools were set in operation, in which were over 3,000 negro and nearly 1,000 white children.⁶ The *Charleston Daily Courier* gave the enroll-

¹ Reynolds, John S., *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 134.

² Hurd, John C., *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 98.

³ Population of the U. S. in 1860, 452.

⁴ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, 251; *The Nation*, Nov. 27, 1865.

⁵ *The American Freedman*, May, 1866, p. 29.

⁶ *The New York Evening Post*, Feb. 26, 1866; *The American Freedman*, May, 1866, p. 29.

ment for the same period as 1,004, and stated that one-sixth of the number were white.⁷

The establishment of schools on the sea islands has already been described in Chapter VI. These schools were maintained throughout the war by the help of Northern philanthropic societies. After 1863, revenues from the rent and sale of land by the United States tax commissioners were devoted to school purposes,⁸ and in August, 1865, General Saxton reported that 15 schools on the islands were supported in this manner.⁹ The work of education was also carried on at the army posts, where officers of the line and chaplains became the teachers, and colonels, the superintendents. The 128th United States colored troops at Beaufort received special mention for their educational work. Even in hospitals some teaching was done.¹⁰

By the fall of 1865, the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina had taken charge of the schools for refugees and freedmen. Reuben Tomlinson, of Philadelphia, was appointed state superintendent and remained in that position until October 19, 1868. He was succeeded first by Brevet Major Horace Neide and on July 10, 1869, by Brevet Major Edward L. Deane. Tomlinson was commended by J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Schools for the bureau, as "eminently successful." "A large amount of what has been accomplished in that State" [South Carolina], wrote Mr. Alvord in 1869, "is due to his untiring efforts."¹¹ In circular number 2, dated May 19, 1865, Howard stated the educational policy of the bureau as follows: "The utmost facility will be offered to benevolent and religious organizations and state authorities in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen until a system of free schools can be supported by the reorganized local governments. It is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in

⁷ Charleston *Daily Courier*, July 3, 1865.

⁸ Report of J. W. Alvord, January 1, 1869, pp. 20-21.

⁹ The *Nation*, I, 227.

¹⁰ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, pp. 249-250. Report of J. W. Alvord, January 1, 1869, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1869, p. 20, and January 1, 1870, p. 23.

the work of education, but to systematize and facilitate them."¹²

For the first year of its existence, the bureau was hampered by lack of funds. During that time no money was appropriated by congress for educational purposes, so that the bureau was able to help the philanthropic societies only by supervision, transportation of teachers, and in many cases by the occupation of buildings in possession of the bureau. Teachers authorized by the Assistant Commissioner and actually on duty, were allowed to purchase rations of the government under the same rules as applied to the commissioned officers of the army.¹³ The *Nation* reports that Tomlinson was so anxious to lose no time in reopening the Charleston schools, that he expended about a thousand dollars of his private means in the repair of school buildings.¹⁴

In 1866, the educational department of the bureau was put upon a financial basis. By the act of July 16, commissioners were authorized to "seize, hold, lease or sell for school purposes" land and other property belonging to them.¹⁵ The same year, congress, in its appropriations for the bureau, specified that money could be expended for "repairs and rent of school houses and asylums."¹⁶ Salaries of teachers, however, were not provided for by the government, and were still paid by philanthropic societies, private individuals or by the freedmen themselves.

Considering the poverty of the negroes, the amount they contributed toward education is remarkable. Tomlinson reported in July, 1867, that the colored people of the state had given \$17,200 for school purposes during the previous year.¹⁷ Many of the schools were made self-supporting through the payment by the pupils of small tuition fees. In 1868, it was estimated that there were in South Carolina at least 8,000 pupils in these self-sustaining schools.¹⁸

¹² *Ibid.*, July 1, 1868, p. 23.

¹³ Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1868, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47. Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 250.

¹⁵ The *Nation*, I, 779 (Nov. 27, 1865).

¹⁶ U. S. Statutes at Large, XIV., 175.

¹⁷ Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 61.

¹⁸ Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1867, p. 23.

The eagerness with which the negroes had at first taken advantage of educational opportunities was unabated. Many were anxious to become teachers, and all seemed to feel that their hope of advancement lay in education. In many cases the laborers attended evening and Sunday classes.¹⁹ Throughout the South were found groups of negroes, old and young, taught by members of their own race who had in some way gained a smattering of learning. Such groups were unreported, and it is impossible to estimate their numbers, but they well illustrate the negro's thirst for knowledge and the impatience of the race to wait for the coming of regular teachers.

In opposition to the desire for education on the part of the blacks and the response of the Northern societies, was the hostility of the Southern whites to the establishment of negro schools. This feeling was based on the almost universal belief among the former slaveholders that an educated negro was a spoiled negro. The experiment was undertaken by those whom they felt to be their enemies, and they feared it would wreck the entire industrial life of the South.²⁰ The opposition was stronger in the country than in the city.²¹ After a tour of the state in 1865, Tomlinson is reported by the *Nation* as saying that outside of Charleston he believed no colored school could be maintained a month after the withdrawal of Federal troops.²²

The reports of the superintendent of schools give instances of the breaking up of negro schools by force and intimidation. As a general rule, Northern teachers of these schools were not received in boarding houses for whites and were often insultingly treated. Tomlinson reported that the school house at Columbia

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1866, p. 1, and July 1, 1869, p. 3; Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737. It is an interesting fact that by a South Carolina statute, persons convicted of certain crimes, such as burglary and arson, were exempted from the death penalty if they could read and write. See Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 672.

²⁰ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, pp. 246, 247, and Part III, p. 34. Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 279.

²¹ Schurz, Carl, Report, 25-26; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 233 and Part III, p. 35.

²² The *Nation*, I., 779.

was burned, the night school at Orangeburg was fired upon, and at Walhalla some native whites hired a drunken vagabond negro to attend the school and accompany the teacher, a white woman from Vermont, home through the village streets. Other instances could be given, but the above are typical cases.²³ The city of Charleston, however, afforded an exception to the wide spread opposition to negro schools. Because of the presence before the war of educated free negroes, the people of Charleston had become accustomed to the idea of negro education and had found that a certain amount of learning made them better members of the community. Hence, when the city schools were opened to negroes in the spring of 1865, the opposition of the whites was centered upon the occupying of the public school houses by negroes, rather than upon negro education itself.²⁴ The Home Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church led the way in the support of negro education by the white people of the state. That society purchased at auction in 1866 the Marine Hospital building at Charleston where the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, former chaplain of the army, opened a school and orphan home for negro children. At the same time he maintained a school for white children in a separate building. A part of the purchase money for the Marine Hospital was raised in the North, President Andrew Johnson contributing a check of a thousand dollars.²⁵

Gradually, opposition to negro schools began to break down throughout the state, especially in the cities and towns. Supt. Tomlinson in July, 1867, reported as follows: "I visited Columbia, Camden, Sumter, Timmons ville, Darlington, Marion, Cheraw, Florence, Kingstree, and intermediate points, and I am confirmed in the conviction (if confirmation were needed) that nothing so rapidly tends to produce harmony between the white

²³ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 218; Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1867, pp. 11 and 28; July 1, 1867, p. 19; Jan. 1, 1868, p. 8; Jan. 1, 1870, p. 26. Howard, O. O., Autobiography, II, 383.

²⁴ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 251.

²⁵ The *Nation*, II, 770, and III, 103 and 383. Charleston *Advocate*, Oct. 10, 1868. Howard, O. O., Autobiography, II, 339.

and colored people as the establishment of schools among them. Take the towns enumerated above as examples. In no other places was greater opposition, short of violence, manifested toward colored schools than in these places when the first schools were started. I question very much whether now a half dozen men of intelligence can be found in any of these places who would not deem it a public calamity to have the schools discontinued. I do not mean to assert that any active sympathy is shown, or that the white people in any of these localities are ready to co-operate with us. The time has not come for this. But in most of these localities, the residents in the immediate neighborhood of the schools have ceased to speak with bitterness of them, and generally treat the teachers with politeness. In Columbia a very marked change in public feeling towards the schools has taken place. The mayor of the city has visited them, and after expressing the greatest satisfaction with all he saw, took occasion at a meeting of the council to advise all its members to visit the schools also."²⁶

In several instances, planters sought bureau headquarters for advice and information in regard to the establishment of schools in their neighborhood.²⁷ It was discovered that negroes were dissatisfied in places where their children could not attend school, and in some cases clauses, providing for education of the children, were inserted in the laborers' contracts. Thus the planters who provided school privileges for the negroes obtained a more permanent and efficient class of laborers.²⁸ Instances are on record where white citizens offered to help in the support of negro schools, provided native teachers were employed. It must not be understood, however, that opposition entirely ceased at this time. Often hostility resulted from a dislike of Northern teachers and the belief that their social and political teaching was harmful.

Because of military protection and of financial limitations,

²⁶ Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1867, p. 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 67.

the educational work of the bureau was at first largely confined to cities and towns. In Charleston, since 1856, there had been maintained a system of free schools, supported partly by state aid.²⁹ As has been seen, these public school buildings were occupied by Redpath and his assistants in the spring of 1865, and opened to children of both races. All of the buildings except one were restored to the whites by 1871, and in addition the bureau built in 1868 a two-story building, known as Avery Institute. This was for the use of colored pupils and was superintended by the Rev. F. L. Cardozo, a Charleston free negro who had received a university education in Glasgow.³⁰ Other schools opened in Charleston under the direction of the bureau were the Shaw School, established by friends of Col. Robert Gould Shaw; Wallingford Academy, supported by the Northern Presbyterians; Franklin Street High School, supported by the Protestant Episcopal Home Mission; and the Baker Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.³¹ In Columbia, a school named for General Howard, was established and supported by the New York branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission. By January 1, 1869, it was reported that educational facilities had been provided in the cities and most of the large towns. Special mention was made of the schools at Lawrenceville, Cheraw, Bennettsville, Marion, Kingstree, Florence, Orangeburg, and St. Helena Island.³²

From 1869 on, it was the policy of the bureau to pay less attention to city schools and to use every effort to aid the country districts.³³ This change of plan coincided with the curtailment of employees and funds in the closing up of most of the departments of the bureau. But even with diminished forces, the concentration upon educational work made it possible in 1869 nearly

²⁹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, p. 344. This "experiment," as it was called, was confined to the district of Charleston

³⁰ Charleston *Advocate*, March 2 and May 16, 1868; *The Nation*, Nov. 27, 1865; Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, p. 344.

³¹ Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1870, pp. 23-24; U. S. Bureau of Education, Chapter from the Com. of Ed., 1902, Ch. V, p. 287.

³² Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1868, pp. 22-24.

³³ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1869, p. 60.

to double the number of schools, teachers and pupils.³⁴ Arrangements were made whereby a portion of the current expenses of all schools of at least thirty pupils each was met by the bureau, and aid "to the full extent of the means in hand" was given to the construction of school houses in destitute regions.³⁵ Teachers from the rural schools were largely supplied from members of the negro race who had been trained in freedmen's schools. From the first, it had been the aim of the bureau to prepare negroes to teach. It was thought that this plan would render negro schools less obnoxious to the whites and more self-sustaining, and that it would be an incentive to the progress of the race.³⁶ Normal classes were taught in Avery Institute and in the Shaw School in Charleston, and in 1869 the Methodist Episcopal Church established at Orangeburg Claflin University, with a normal department.³⁷

The subjects taught in negro schools were necessarily purely elementary at first. Most Northerners advocated the same kind of education for the negro that their own schools afforded, on the ground of equal mental capacity of the races. Their enthusiasm for higher education for the negro was temporarily restrained by the freedmen's lack of preparation, but within six years after the war, some of the schools for colored students were offering Greek, Latin, trigonometry and moral philosophy.

The great need of the freedmen for industrial education was seen by Supt. Alvord, who in his report of July 1, 1869, recommended the establishment in negro schools of a department of industrial science and art. "We earnestly propose," he wrote, "that the colored race possess comfortable homes, land and means to improve it; be skilled to labor; be a producing class—; able to cope with all other men in any department of human achievement. Why, if thus trained, should not many of them be foremost at length in the great interest of agriculture, manufactures and commerce?—Such standpoints would be vantage ground

³⁴ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1870, p. 23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1869, p. 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1866, pp. 12-13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1870, pp. 23 and 64.

from which to conquer prejudice and secure hearty accord to equality of condition and capacity."³⁸ It is greatly to be deplored that his wise suggestion was not carried out.

The available statistics give a very inadequate idea of the educational work in progress during the years covered; for they do not include the numbers of schools scattered throughout the state which were not regularly reported. For instance, in January, 1867, the number of schools reported was 69 and the number of pupils 7,912. In the same report, Supt. Tomlinson gave the number of day and night schools not reported as 40 and estimated the number of pupils attending such schools as 4,000. In addition, the Sunday schools among the freedmen gave elementary instruction and so reached many who could not attend the week-day sessions. From all these facts, Tomlinson estimated that 30,000 colored persons in South Carolina had learned to read during the year 1866.³⁹ The American Freedmen's Union Commission gives the following report of the schools which its societies sustained in South Carolina during the season 1866-1867: New England Branch, 50; New York Branch, 36; Portland Auxiliary, 3; Pennsylvania Branch, 14; total, 103. By referring to the bureau's report for the same period, it will be seen that the latter's numbers are much smaller, though it had general supervision over all the freedmen's schools in the state. The bureau was never noted for its good bookkeeping, and too much importance must not be given to its statistics.

The co-operation between the bureau and the benevolent societies was so well managed that it is impossible to separate the work of the two agencies. As General Howard stated in the circular before quoted, the bureau's purpose was to "systematize and facilitate" the work of different philanthropic organizations. It advised with these societies, investigated and reported where work was most needed, compiled statistics, instituted a system of school reports and examinations of teachers, helped financially in the transportation of teachers, erection and repair of school

³⁸ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1869, p. 84.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1867, pp. 10-12.

buildings, and the maintenance of schools, and kept the progress and needs of the schools ever before the eyes of the people. A good report of the work of the different Northern societies is given in Superintendent Alvord's reports of July 1, 1868, pp. 67-74 and January 1, 1869, pp. 54-58. In passing, it is of interest to note that from 1862 to July, 1869, friends in England contributed more than half a million dollars for negro education. Of this amount, South Carolina's share was the entire support of a school of 27 pupils at Greenville and one of 18 pupils at St. Helena's Island.⁴⁰ In spite of all that was done by the different eleemosynary agencies, only a small part of the freedmen was reached. In January, 1868, one colored child of school age in six in South Carolina was in school.⁴¹ The masses were still ignorant, and would remain so until a good public school system could be established.

In 1868, the constitutional convention of South Carolina provided for a public school system and enjoined upon the legislature of the state the duty of passing a law for compulsory education. It also stipulated that schools and colleges supported by public funds should be open to all children of the state without regard to race or color.⁴² In the same year, the state legislature passed a law for the organization of an educational department. For several years the state system of public schools was a very defective one. At first no appropriation was made. Later the treasury failed to disburse the funds, when appropriated.⁴³ But the educational work of the freedmen's bureau had at least led up to the establishment of a public school system in South Carolina and soon after that was accomplished, its existence ceased. The last educational report for the state was dated July 1, 1870.

The educational work of the freedmen's bureau was undertaken amid great difficulties. One of the hindrances was obviously the hostility of the native whites. Another, almost as

⁴⁰ Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1869, p. 81.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1868, p. 47.

⁴² Reynolds, John S., Reconstruction in S. C., 82-83.

⁴³ Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Education, 1870-1872.

great, was the idea of the North that the negro was the white man's equal in mental ability and that the same kind of education was desirable for both races. The negro, with his enthusiasm for learning, was the victim of the mistakes of both sections. It has taken nearly fifty years of experience to convince both North and South of their blunders and to arrive at the improved though still imperfect system of negro education of today. There is much for which the educational department of the freedmen's bureau can be criticised, for like all pioneer organizations, it made many mistakes. But if it led, even by circuitous routes, to a better system, and on the way gave a broader life to thousands, its work was not in vain.

CHAPTER VII

FREE TRANSPORTATION, BANKS, AND CLAIMS FOR MILITARY SERVICE

Free Transportation.—Just after the war, there was great restlessness among the negroes, and in South Carolina alone thousands of them were wandering about the state. The following are the principal causes of this migratory impulse: desire to test their freedom; to receive their share of the land which they heard was being distributed at the coast; to return to their former homes from which they had been separated by military service, or by flight with their masters to the upper part of the state; to find lost relatives; to be near the protection of the army and the freedmen's bureau; to be near freedmen's schools, and to see the world.¹

Charleston and the lowlands were the Mecca of most of these wanderers. Thousands of negroes, whom their masters had taken into the interior for safe keeping upon the arrival of the Union army, were now seeking to return to their homes. An even stronger reason for the southward migration was the feeling prevalent among the negroes that real freedom could be found only in Charleston and its vicinity and that the government's bounty was to be disbursed there. Consequently, that city was overrun with unemployed negroes, dependent upon government support, while outside the town agriculture was being suspended for lack of laborers.²

Under these conditions, the freedmen's bureau endeavored to relieve the government of the burden of caring for the unemployed and to facilitate the return to industrial activity by transporting the laborers to places where their services were in demand.³ For this purpose the bureau was allowed the use of

¹ Messages and Documents, 1867-1868, p. 474; Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6.

² *The Nation*, II., 492; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 247. Andrews, Sidney. *The South Since the War*, pp. 24, 25, 98.

³ *Ibid.*, *The Nation*, Dec. 5, 1865, p. 813.

government transports and military railroads, and where this was not possible, the actual cost of transportation was furnished.⁴ The *Nation*, December 5, 1865, gives the authority of an officer of the bureau in Columbia for the following: "During November the bureau sent down about 250 persons each week, and they give transportation to those only who are too old or too young to make the journey on foot. Through the summer and early autumn transportation was given to none; but it is estimated that in each month more than a thousand negroes passed through Columbia on their way to the low country, most of them being negroes whom their masters had removed to the interior for safe keeping." In November, 1866, Scott reported that 1,829 freedmen had received transportation in South Carolina during the previous year.⁵

The freedmen's bureau co-operated with Northern societies to aid numbers of negroes to leave the state. Employment bureaus were established in several Northern cities and freedmen were transported to homes in the North where they could find employment.⁶ They were also assisted in settling upon the public lands in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, opened to them by the Homestead Act of June 21, 1866. In the winter of 1866-1867, it is estimated that thousands of negroes, discontented because of inability to become landowners in South Carolina or to make satisfactory contracts, emigrated to Florida. The government furnished transportation and promised six months rations after arrival. Some went on contracts which secured to them good rations, \$12 per month to first class men and \$6 to women.⁷ About the same time the American Coloniza-

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec., 1865, p. 43.

⁵ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I, No. 6, p. 115.

⁶ Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6. *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 52. The *Nation*, III., 383. Report of Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 706.

⁷ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 123; The *Nation*, III., 23, 203, 263, and IV., 43, 143; this offer was open both to "loyal whites" and freedmen. See Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 59.

tion Society sent a shipload of 600 negroes from Charleston to Liberia.⁸

Free transportation was given by the bureau to the following classes of whites: destitute refugees, dependent upon the government for support, officers and agents of the bureau, and teachers accredited by the commissioners or by his assistants. This led to abuse in some cases. General Scott reported in 1866 that he had found it necessary to disapprove of a large number of orders given to white citizens at Summerville who were about to make use of free transportation to attend to private business.⁹ By order of General Howard, April, 10, 1866, transportation was denied to the able-bodied except in extreme cases, and to teachers and agents except when traveling in the discharge of their duties, and duly accredited by the assistant commissioner.¹⁰

Banks.—On March 3, 1865, President Lincoln signed a bill to incorporate the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. The object of this institution was nominally to encourage thrift among the freedmen by providing for them a bank in which, sanctioned as it was by the United States government, they could have implicit confidence. Uncalled for deposits were to be used to promote negro education.¹¹ By Saxton's order, the South Carolina Savings Bank, which had been established by him at Beaufort,¹² was merged with the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, December 14, 1865; the balance of \$170,000 in the former institution becoming a large part of the capital of the new bank.¹³ South Carolina branches of the Freedman's Savings

⁸ American Colonization Society, 23-26; *The Nation*, III., 511 and IV. 227; *Charleston Advocate*, March 2, 1867.

⁹ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 115.

¹⁰ School supplies and commissary stores were also transported at government expense. See Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6; Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 21.

¹¹ Acts and Resolutions, 38 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 99; Fleming, W. L., *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I., 382-383.

¹² See Chapter I., pp. 15-16.

¹³ *The Nation*, I., 779; Williams, Geo. W., *Negro Race in America*, 403-410.

and Trust Company were established at Beaufort and Charleston.¹⁴

The negroes showed their appreciation of the new institution by entrusting large sums to its keeping, considering their financial condition. During the month of January, 1866, \$424.15 were deposited in the Charleston branch and \$498.20 at Beaufort. In November, 1866, Scott reported that nearly \$100,000 had been deposited within the previous year.¹⁵ Interest of five per cent on deposits of at least \$25.00 was paid, and it is recorded that in 1868 \$4032.57 in interest, went to South Carolina depositors.¹⁶

In 1874, the bank collapsed, owing to mismanagement and fraud among its officials. At the time of its failure there were deposited at Charleston \$255,345 and at Beaufort \$65,592,¹⁷ representing the slow savings and real sacrifice of thousands of negroes. The blame for this disgraceful betrayal of trust has fallen upon the freedmen's bureau, although it does not rightfully belong there. The freedmen's bureau and the freedman's bank were two separate agencies, the only connection between them being that J. W. Alvord, one of the trustees and apparently the founder and chief manager of the bank, was also inspector of schools and finances under the bureau, and reported concerning the bank to General Howard.¹⁸ The responsibility really rests upon a small coterie of trustees, various dishonest officials, and the congress of the United States for loose incorporation and lack of proper inspection.

Claims for Military Service.—The ignorance and credulity of the negroes made them the easy prey of unscrupulous white men in the matter of money due for military services. Congress decreed during the war that no discrimination should be made between the races in the matter of payment. Every volunteer who was honorably discharged was allowed from \$25 to \$100 as

¹⁴ Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1866, p. 16.

¹⁵ Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 125.

¹⁶ Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1869, p. 58.

¹⁷ House Misc. Docs., 43 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 16, p. 61; Fleming, W. L., *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I., 385.

¹⁸ Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1866, pp. 16-17.

"bounty" in addition to his regular pay, the amount being determined by the length of time for which he had volunteered. Should the soldier die in service, this bounty should go to his family.¹⁹ Other sources of money due negro soldiers or sailors came from the capture of the enemy's vessels (prize money) and from sums sent from other states to procure enlisted men.²⁰

The negroes were defrauded in various ways. Enlisting and disbursing agents took advantage of their ignorance by keeping back money which was due. If payment was made, it frequently happened that officers easily persuaded the soldier to entrust it to them as a loan. Such loans often remained unsettled, especially in case of the death of the soldier. Probably the greatest amount of fraud was committed by so-called lawyers and false claim agents, to whom the negroes gave their claims. By representing that it would take years to untie the red tape at Washington, they either bought the claims for a small amount or advanced money on which they charged interest at the rate of 50, 100, or 150 per cent. When collections were actually made, these agents often demanded exorbitant fees and in some cases retained the entire amount.²¹

To protect the colored soldiers from such outrages, the freedmen's bureau organized its claim division in March, 1866. Officers and agents of the bureau were directed to receive claims from colored soldiers or their families and to forward them free of charge to Washington. March 29, 1867, Congress put the entire matter of the collection and payment of bounties and other money due colored soldiers into the hands of the bureau. Checks issued by the treasury department in settlement of claims of negro soldiers were made payable to the commissioner, who was instructed to "pay the agent or attorney his legal fees, and pay the

¹⁹ U. S. Statutes at Large, XIII., 488, XII., 269, 270, 598.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XII., 606; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 260.

²¹ Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 12; Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 673; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 260; *The Nation*, I., 779 (November 27, 1865); Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 5.

balance to the claimant on satisfactory identification."²² Howard reported in 1871 that 6,236 claims had been settled without cost to the claimant (except the necessary notarial fee which was restricted by law) and he estimated that \$62,360 in legal fees had been saved to the freedmen.²³ It is impossible to tell how much of this work was done in South Carolina, as the reports of the claim division were not made by states.

²² U. S. Statutes at Large, XV., 26, 27.

²³ Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1871, p. 4.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The part played by the freedmen's bureau in the readjustment of Southern life during the years immediately following the war is a matter of controversy. There is no doubt that in South Carolina many planters were prepared to deal justly by their former slaves, who looked to them as their natural protectors. For them the freedmen's bureau was probably unnecessary. But the evidence of Northern men traveling in the South during the period under consideration would indicate that many Southerners were not so kindly disposed.

In the fall of 1865, Carl Schurz and General Grant made official investigations of conditions in the Southern states. The former reported in December of that year that in some localities "planters endeavored and partially succeeded in maintaining between themselves and the negroes the relation of master and slave, partly by concealing from them the great changes that had taken place, and partly by terrorizing them into submission to their behests. I found a very few instances of original secessionists also manifesting a willingness to give the free-labor experiment a fair trial."¹ At the same time, Grant expressed the opinion that "in some form the freedmen's bureau is an absolute necessity until civil law is established and enforced, securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection."² In December, 1865, after 14 weeks in the South, Sidney Andrews wrote that he considered it necessary for the nation to sustain in the South "some agency that shall stand between the whites and the blacks and aid each class in coming to a proper understanding of its privileges and responsibilities."³ From such evidence as is given in these three opinions it seems certain that the bureau was needed.

Among Southerners, also, were reported some advocates of

¹ Schurz, Carl, Report, Dec. 19, 1865, pp. 15, 20.

² *Ibid.*, Appended letter from Gen. Grant, p. 107.

³ Andrews, Sidney, *The South Since the War*, 400.

the bureau. When Generals Steedmen and Fullerton, upon the order of President Johnson, inspected the operation of the bureau in the Southern States, Scott, who was then the assistant commissioner for South Carolina, wrote: "The planters came forward and upheld my policy throughout, and are panic stricken at the very idea of the removal of the bureau. . . . Nearly all of the planters in the state will acknowledge that the bureau is necessary for the welfare of all classes; but such men as Spratt, Conner, and Bonham, who are not planters but politicians, give their evidence that the bureau is detrimental to the interests of the South merely from political prejudice, and not from any knowledge that they have of the working of the bureau."⁴

The "panic" of the planters at the thought of the removal of the bureau has left no expressions except in the words of Scott. On the other hand, the unanimous verdict of Southern people, both as expressed today and as found in contemporary writings, is shown in the following typical extracts: "The bureau, by the law of its creation was to expire within one year of the close of the war. We trust it will be allowed to pass away. Its presence is anomalous and unnecessary. Its tendency has been, in a great measure, to disorganization and not to repose." (*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 27, 1865.) "This state is still to be afflicted with the remains of the United States Freedmen's Bureau." (*Horry Sentinel*, as quoted in *Charleston Advocate*, December 12, 1868.) "To the great mass of white people of the South the bureau is odious." (*Nation*, April 11, 1866.) "I will venture to say, and in proof of the assertion I appeal to the letter of Gen. Sickles to Senator Trumbull, to the recent report of Gen. Scott, the Commissioner of the freedmen's bureau for this state, and to the experience of all, black and white, engaged in agriculture, that if the races were left to themselves under the control which the present military government exerts or the impartial administration of the laws which a restored state government would enforce,

⁴ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 120, p. 48; *The Nation*, II., 690 (June 1, 1866).

there would be no insuperable difficulty in the way of a complete understanding." (William Henry Trescot.)⁵

The unpopularity of the bureau in the South was of natural origin. Employers who were prepared to deal kindly and justly with their servants were for the most part trusted by the freedmen and the intervention of a third party brought unnecessary complications. For persons inclined to deceive or to intimidate the negroes, the bureau meant interference and restraint. The fact that it was established by their opponents in Congress and operated by Union soldiers and negroes, was sufficient of itself to make it obnoxious to the South.⁶

Aside from the natural dislike of compulsory supervision, the South found in some of the operations of the bureau occasion for legitimate complaint. The chief grievance was expressed in the following extracts from a local newspaper: "Just so long as a freedmen's bureau will serve out rations and clothes to a lusty and able-bodied race of negroes, just so long will they reject work. . . . Let the people of the North try this beautiful experiment in their own cities on the immigrant white population."⁷ And again: "A few more years of the freedmen's bureau in the South will scarcely leave white or black sufficient rations for daily porridge, unless provided from the National pap box. By the end of that time no white man will be capable of work and no negro willing."⁸

The responsibility for the state of things so justly censured by the *Daily South Carolinian* lies back of the bestowal of government rations to that which necessitated it—the accumulation of negroes at Charleston and the sea islands, in the expectation of becoming land owners. The blame lies primarily with Sherman for his ill-advised field order and with the provisions of the first freedmen's bureau bill, which led the negroes to expect land

⁵ Trescot, Wm. H. Letter on Reconstruction in S. C., 1867, in *American Historical Review*, XV., 578 (April, 1910).

⁶ "The Sand-hillers who applied to the U. S. Commissary at Columbia for food to save them from starvation addressed him respectfully as 'the enemy.'" *The Nation*, V., 133 (Aug. 15, 1867).

⁷ *The Daily South Carolinian*, January 30, 1866.

⁸ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1866.

from the government. Encouraged by Saxton to emigrate to the coast⁹ and led there by their desire for property, the freedmen naturally looked for support to the government, at whose invitation they had come.

Saxton's issue of provisions to those actually in danger of starvation was a necessary duty, but it in turn led to a worse evil. The belief of the negroes in gifts of land was so strong that in the winter of 1865-1866 they refused, as a rule, to contract for labor, and their determination was no doubt strengthened by the feeling that the government would keep them from actual suffering. It was not until Saxton had assured them that their expectation was groundless that they reluctantly entered into contracts with the planters.¹⁰ Thus a large share of the idleness and dependence of the negroes during their first year of freedom was caused, not as is generally believed, by a careless bestowal of free rations, but by the badly conceived policy of settling negroes upon the abandoned plantations. The continuation of government rations after the first year was necessitated by poor crops, and was a benefit to both races.

Another charge against the freedmen's bureau was voiced in Congress by Senator Davis of Kentucky when he moved to call the act of 1866 a bill "to promote strife and conflict between the white and black races."¹¹ The mere fact that the government thought it necessary to furnish an intermediary agency aroused in the freedmen suspicions of their former masters. On the other hand, it relieved the whites of the responsibility of protecting and caring for the negroes, which otherwise most of them would have felt.

Generally speaking, there was an utter lack of understanding between the native Southerners and the officials of the bureau. "The late master knows less of the negroes' character than any other person,"¹² said Saxton, in absolute confidence that his five years' experience had brought keener insight than the lifetime of

⁹ Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 221.

¹⁰ Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 95.

¹¹ Congressional Globe, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Part I., p. 421.

¹² Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 219.

a former slaveholder. Such misconceptions on the part of conscientious men, as Saxton undoubtedly was, caused needless friction; when united with dishonesty (as was the case only too often on both sides) it produced an hostility between the races, the effects of which can still be seen.

The relation of the freedmen's bureau to politics was most derogatory to the bureau and did much to create antagonism of the races. The bureau was essentially a partisan organization, brought into existence and maintained by a Republican vote in Congress. Many of its officers advocated negro suffrage,¹³ and when that policy was adopted, officers and agents of the bureau were directed to spread the good news among the freedmen and to "advise and encourage registration." They also undertook to protect their wards from "designing persons" who would prevent them from registering.¹⁴ In addition to thus protecting the negroes in the exercise of suffrage, some officials of the bureau endeavored to influence their vote. Through the work of the Union League, the negro vote became solidly Republican, and the freedmen were taught to distrust the political advice of the native whites.¹⁵

Several officials of the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina were elected by negroes to political offices. Assistant commissioner Scott resigned from the bureau to become governor of the state in 1868 and was re-elected in 1870. While governor, a resolution of impeachment was brought against him, to escape which he is accused of using \$48,645 of state funds as bribes to members of the House.¹⁶ Other state officials who had previously been connected with the bureau were Reuben Tomlinson, Justus K. Jillson, Mansfield French, B. F. Whittemore and B. F. Randolph. Compared with the large number of bureau officers and agents, the above list (which is probably incomplete) is short,

¹³ *Ibid.*, Part II., pp. 222, 249.

¹⁴ Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 673.

¹⁵ Hendricks, Thomas A., *North American Review*, Vol. 123, pp. 268, 340; Herbert, Hilary A., *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 87, p. 151; The Solid South, p. 17.

¹⁶ Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 172-173.

but any such connection did much to deepen the impression of native South Carolinians that the bureau was contrived by Congress for purely political ends.

After a period of over forty years, thoughtful men of the South must realize that in spite of its defects the freedmen's bureau produced some favorable results. One of its greatest benefits is expressed in the following quotation from Carl Shurz's report of December, 1865: "Not half of the labor that has been done in the South this year, or will be done there next year, would have been done or would be done, but for the exertions of the freedmen's bureau."¹⁷ Undoubtedly, its supervision of contracts and transportation of the negro to fields of employment facilitated the South's return to industrial activity.

The bureau was also beneficial in protecting the negroes from unscrupulous whites. A spirit of lawlessness, resulting in abuse and murder, was rife among a certain class of South Carolinians. In December, 1865, the Charleston *Daily Courier* called upon the bureau to put down these "insurrections" and to secure the "peace and quiet of the community."¹⁸ Soon after the murder of three prominent negroes in the fall of 1868, the Democratic state committee, headed by Wade Hampton, issued an appeal to the people of South Carolina "to support the law, to preserve the peace, and to denounce those crimes which have so recently been committed in some portions of our state."¹⁹ It is true that in the bureau courts, fraud was committed by dishonest officials, but it is an open question whether, even if the opportunity had been given it by congress, the better element of South Carolina was then strong enough to have maintained justice and order as effectually as did the freedmen's bureau.

The bureau's distribution of food and clothing and its provisions for medical assistance helped large numbers of the needy of both races. By this means much actual suffering and probably

¹⁷ Schurz, Carl, Report of, 40.

¹⁸ The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Dec. 13, 1865.

¹⁹ The Columbia *Phoenix* of Oct. 23, 1868, as quoted in Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., Report on South Carolina, Vol. 2, pp. 1248, 1249.

many deaths were averted. The educational work of the bureau is still felt in the existence of schools founded by its help, and in the state public school system, which may be said in some sense to be the outgrowth of this department. Indirectly, the educational work of the freedmen's bureau stimulated the whites to a wider interest in the public schools.

At the close of forty-five years since its dissolution, it seems possible to make a reasonably fair judgment of the bureau as a whole. Like all other human institutions, it was neither wholly good nor wholly evil. To have succeeded as its founder hoped it would succeed, would have required infinite wisdom and perfect honesty on the part of its officials. Its worst failures are attributable to the inferiority of the minor officers and agents upon whom the real work of the bureau lay, as well as to an incomplete knowledge of the difficulties inherent in the conditions themselves.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Form of Contracts between planters and freedmen, as substantially adopted by the Darlington meeting, revised and adopted by the mass meeting of Sumter, Kershaw and Clarendon planters, December 21, 1865, and approved by Major General Saxton, of the Freedmen's Bureau:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
.....District.

Articles of agreement between.....and....., freed men and women, whose names are hereunto attached:

First—The said freedmen agree to hire their time as laborers, on the plantation of....., from the 1st of January, 1866, to the 1st of January, 1867; to conduct themselves faithfully, honestly, civilly and diligently; to perform all labor on said plantation or such as may be connected therewith, that may be required by the said....., or his agent, and to keep no poultry, dogs or stock of any kind, except as hereinafter specified; no firearms or deadly weapons, no ardent spirits, nor introduce or invite visitors, nor leave the premises during working hours without the written consent of the proprietor or his agent.

Second—The said freedmen agree to perform the daily tasks hitherto usually allotted on said plantation, to-wit: 125 to 150 rails; cutting grain, three to six acres; ditching and banking, 300 to 600 feet; hoeing cotton, 70 to 300 rows an acre long; corn, 4,000 to 7,000 hills. In all cases where tasks cannot be assigned they agree to labor diligently ten hours a day.

Third—For every day's labor lost by absence, refusal or neglect to perform the daily task or labor, said servants shall forfeit fifty cents. If absent voluntarily or without leave, two dollars a day; if absent more than one day without leave, to be subject to dismissal from the plantation and forfeiture of share in the

crop. All such fines and forfeitures shall inure to the benefit of the employer and employees in proportion to their relative shares.

Fourth—Said freedmen agree to take care of all utensils, tools and implements committed to their charge, and to pay for the same if injured or destroyed; also, to be kind and gentle to all work animals under their charge, and to pay for any injury which they may sustain while in their hands through their carelessness or neglect; and forfeitures herein specified will be subject to the decision of the authorities having proper jurisdiction of the same.

Fifth—They stipulate to keep their houses, lots and persons in neat condition, subject to the inspection of the employer or his agent at any time.

Sixth—They agree to furnish from their number a nurse for the sick, also stock-minder and foreman, to be selected by the employer. They agree to be directed in their labor by the foreman, to obey his orders, and that he shall report all absences, neglects, refusal to work, or disorderly conduct, to the employer or his agent.

Seventh—Said employer agrees to treat his employees with justice and kindness; to furnish each family with quarters on his plantation, with a quarter of an acre of land for a garden and the privilege of getting fire-wood from some portion of the premises, to be indicated by the employer, (and to divide the crop with them in the following proportions, viz: to the employees one-third of the corn, potatoes and peas, gathered and prepared for market, and one-third net proceeds of the ginned cotton, or its market value at the end of the year.) When desired, to furnish the usual bread and meat ration, to be accounted for at the market price, out of their share of the crop. (Where "stated wages" are allowed, the *pro rata* of the crop will be omitted.)

Eighth—Said employer agrees to furnish animals, and to feed them: also wagons, carts, plantation implements, such as cannot be made by the laborer on the plantation.

Ninth—All violations of the terms of this contract, or of the rules and regulations of the employer, may be punished by dismissal from the plantation, with forfeiture of his or her share of the crop or wages, as the case may be. But the employer shall pay said parties at the rate of four dollars a month for full hands, deducting therefrom advances made.

Tenth—The employer or his agent shall keep a book, in which shall be entered all advances made by him, and fines and forfeitures for lost time, or any cause, which book shall be received as evidence in same manner as merchants' books are now received in courts of justice, and shall have a right to deduct from the share of each laborer all his or her fines and forfeitures, also all advances made by him, subject to the decision of the authorities having jurisdiction of the same.

Eleventh—The laborer shall not sell any agricultural product to any person whatever, without the written consent of the employer, until after the division of the crops.

Twelfth—The laborers shall commence work at sunrise, and be allowed from one to three hours each day for their meals, according to the season of the year.¹

Witness our hands, etc., this.....

¹ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., pp. 241-242.

APPENDIX B

AN INCOMPLETE ROLL OF OFFICERS AND AGENTS OF THE FREED-
MEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA, WITH THE OFFICES
HELD AND THE AUTHOR'S SOURCE OF INFORMATION
ON EACH

- Bassett, Capt. Geo. T., Chief Commissary, Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Baker, E. C., Office not given. (Letter in possession of the writer.)
- Caraher, Lieut. Col. A. G., Acting Asst. Com. of Laurens District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 124.)
- Chase, Lieut. Jno. C., Sub. Asst. Com. of Georgetown District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 119.)
- Cornelius, Maj. J. E., Acting Asst. Com. of Edisto District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 123. *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 10, 1866.)
- Deane, Brevet Maj. E. L., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 126.)
- De Forrest, Brevet Maj. J. W., Acting Asst. Com. of Greenville District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 122.)
- Delany, Major, Officer (Colored.) *Daily South Carolinian*. Jan. 17, 1866.
- De Witt, Surgeon Wm. R., Chief Medical Officer for S. C. and Ga., Mar. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 115. *The Nation*, II., 260.)
- Edie, Col. J. R., Asst. Com. for S. C., July 31, 1868-Jan. 1, 1869. (Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 14, 1868, pp. 3, 26.)
- Edwards, Maj. J. E., Sub. Asst. Com. of the Islands. (New York *Times*, June 13, 1866.)
- Ely, Brevet Brig. Gen., Sub. Asst. Com. at Columbia, 1865, 1866. (*Ibid.*, *The Nation*, I., 290.)

- Evans, M. A., Agent—Dismissed Dec. 4, 1865—(Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 117.)
- Everson, Brevet Maj. E. W., Asst. Surgeon and Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 126.)
- Faust, Brevet Brig. Gen. B. F., Acting Inspector General—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 125.)
- Fowler, Chaplain J. H., In charge of Dept. of Marriage Relations for S. C. and Ga., Nov. 3, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 117.)
- French, Rev. Mansfield, Supervisor of Missions and Marriage Relations of Freedmen, Feb. 7, 1866. (*Charleston Weekly Record*, Feb. 17, 1866. *New York Times*, June 13, 1866.)
- Gile, Brevet Brig. Gen. Geo. W., Acting Asst. Com. of Sumter, Darlington, Chesterfield, Marlborough and Marion Districts, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 119.)
- Greene, Col. J. Duwell, Acting Asst. Com. of Columbia District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 120.)
- Happersett, J. C. G., Surgeon-in-chief—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 126.)
- Harkisheimer, Brevet Maj. W. J., Officer in charge of Richland and Lexington State Districts. (Report of Gen. Howard Oct. 14, 1868, p. 27.)
- Hogan, Dr. M. K., Surgeon-in-chief of S. C., 1869. (Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 23, 1869, p. 17.)
- Howard, Brevet Brig. Gen. C. H.,—Brother of O. O. Howard—Inspector General—Chief of Gen. Saxton's staff—Jan. 20, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98. *South Carolina Leader*, Dec. 9, 1865.)
- Jillson, J. K.,—A Mass. teacher—Employee of the Educational Department. (Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 87.)
- Ketchum, Capt. Alex. P., Acting Asst. Adjutant General in charge of the restoration of lands, Oct. 19, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39

Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 8. *Daily South Carolinian*, Jan. 17, 1866.)

Kinsman, Brevet Maj. O. D., Asst. Adjutant General—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)

Lewis, Capt. J. W. (Private Letter.)

Lockwood, W. H. (Private Letter.)

Long, Capt. J. H., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff—Jan. 20, 1866. (*Charleston Weekly Record*, Feb. 10, 1866.)

Lott, Lieut. L. J., Sub. Asst. Com. at Charleston. (*New York Times*, June 13, 1866.)

Low, Brevet Lieut. Col. James P., Chief Receiving and Disbursing Officer for S. C., 1866—Member of Gen. Saxton's and Gen. Scott's staffs. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, pp. 125, 126.)

McConaghy,—From Chicago—Officer at Winnsboro. (Private Letter.)

Middleton, J. B., Special Agent in Marion District, 1867. (Private Letter.)

Neagle, Controller General. (Private Letter.)

Newcomb., Geo. (Private Letter.)

Pillsbury, Agent. (*Daily Record*, Freedmen's Aid Society. Letter from R. Tomlinson, Mar. 26, 1869.)

Place, Capt. Samuel, Officer at Sumter. (Private Letter.)

Powers, Lieut. J. S., Sub. Asst. Com. of Beaufort District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 119.)

Runkle, Brevet Brig. Gen. Benj. P., Acting Asst. Com. of Anderson District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 121.)

Rutherford, Capt. J. P., Assistant Quartermaster—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)

Saxton, Brevet Maj. Gen. Rufus, Asst. Com. for S. C., June 13, 1865-Jan. 15, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 2, 46. Report of the Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 216.)

- Saxton, Maj. S. Willard, Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Scott, Brevet Maj. Gen. R. K., Asst. Com. for S. C., Jan. 20, 1866-July 31, 1868. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, p. 112. Howard's Report, Oct. 14, 1868, p. 26.)
- Smith, Brevet Maj. H. W., Asst. Adjutant General—Member of Gen. Saxton's and Gen. Scott's staffs. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98. Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 125.)
- Stoeber, Lieut E. M., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff—Oct. 3, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Stone, Lieut. (Major), Sub. Asst. Com. at Edgefield. Agent at Aiken, Feb. 21, 1867. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 122. *The Nation*, IV., 143.)
- Taylor, Brevet Maj. Stuart M., Asst. Adjutant General. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 116.)
- Tomlinson, Reuben—From Philadelphia, Supt. of Education for S. C. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 115.)
- Towles, D. F., Discharged Jan. 15, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Walker, Brevet Maj. L., Acting Asst. Com. of Anderson District—Succeeding Gen. Runkle—Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 121.)
- Whittemore, Chaplain B. F. (Private Letter.)
- Williams, Col. G. A., Acting Asst. Com. of Charleston District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 118.)

APPENDIX C

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND BRANCH OF THE
FREEDMEN'S UNION COMMISSION, STATE OF SOUTH
CAROLINA, 1867-1868

TOWN	NAME OF SCHOOL	TEACHER	SALARY PER MO.	ADOPTED BY	OPENED
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Arthur Sumner	\$1,000.00 p. a	Barnard Soc.	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Carrie S. Lincoln	40.00	Dorchester	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Kate Niles	40.00	Miss E. C. Greene	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Clara F. Woodbury	40.00	Members of King's Chapel Lincoln Soc. Roxbury	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Mary A. Upton	40.00	Hollis St. Church	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Augusta Sawyer	35.00		Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Maggie Wynne	25.00	Cambridge	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Jane Weston	25.00	Theo. Parker Soc.	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Ellen M. Jones	40.00	Dedham	
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Mary E. Billings			
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Rosa Ramsder			
Statesbury		Richard S. Holloway			
Statesbury		Mrs. R. S. Holloway			
Kingstree		Sarah Coleman			
Camden	Jackson	Justus K. Jilison	50.00	Burlington, Vt.	
Camden	Jackson	Ellen A. Gates	35.00	Barnard Soc.	
Camden	Jackson	Louisa Dibble	25.00	Winchester	
Camden	Jackson	Frank Carter	35.00	Newton Soc.	
Camden	Jackson	F. J. Collie*			
Camden	Jackson	Marion D. Stuart	35.00	Appleton St. S. S.	
Camden	Jackson	Sarah F. Woodworth	35.00	Lowell	
Oro		H. J. Maxwell	35.00	Prookline	
Beaufort	Hooper	Elizabeth H. Botume	40.00	Watertown Soc.	
Beaufort	Hooper	Fanny S. Longford	40.00	Indian St. Church	
Summerville	Stevenson	Mary A. Hasley	40.00	Cambridge	Oct. 21
Summerville	Stevenson	Catherine A. Cogswell	40.00	Foxboro	Oct. 21
Ladies' Is.	Eustis Plantation	S. R. Bowlthorpe		Mr. F. A. Eustis	April 6
Sumter		Jane B. Smith	40.00	Cambridgeport	Sept. 30
Lynchburg		Thos. Jones			
Fdisto Is.		A. Jane Knight	40.00	Lancaster	Nov. 13
Marion		Joshua Wilson			
Florence	Wilson	Thos. C. Cox	45.00	Barnard Soc.	Oct. 1
Florence	Garrison	T. B. Cordon	35.00	Hopedale	Oct. 1
Cheraw		Henry L. Shrewsbury	40.00	First Ch., Boston	
Cheraw		Timothy L. Weston	35.00		
Marion		Ino. A. Barre	35.00	Milford, N. H.	
Marion	Champion	Wm. A. Hayne	45.00		
Springfield		Henry F. Hayne	45.00	Cambridge	
Society Hill		James Hamilton			
Orangeburg	Tullock	T. K. Sarportas	50.00	St. Johnsbury	
Kingstree	Tomlinson	Henry Frost	40.00	Barnard Soc.	
Orangeburg	Tullock	W. J. McKinlay	35.00		
Darlington	Washington	Mrs. Whittemore	35.00	Arlington St. Ch.	
Camden	Jackson	Marion D. Stuart	35.00	Appleton St. S. S.	
Camden	Jackson	S. F. Woodworth	35.00	Lowell	
Darlington	Jefferson	Frances A. Keith			

* Left

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 relative to the freedmen. 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 12, No. 120—pp. 48,
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 lution of freedmen of S. C., appealing for aid, Feb. 27, 1868.

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AND THE SECOND AND THIRD NUMBERS ARE

“THE OPERATION OF THE FREEDMEN’S BUREAU
IN SOUTH CAROLINA”

Chapters I-VIII

By LAURA JOSEPHINE WEBSTER

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Women's Suffrage in New Jersey: 1790-1807

BY EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, PH.D.
Professor of History, the University of Michigan

[NOTE: The author had completed the research for this paper and most of the writing of it, when he learned that Dr. Annie Heloise Abel had for some time been collecting data for the future composition of an article on the same subject. It was afterwards seen that both had examined, apparently, the existing material, and had obtained nearly identical results. Under the circumstances two studies were not to be thought of; and collaboration upon one, while considered, was ultimately deemed inadvisable. This study, then, is substantially as I wrote it early in 1913, but Dr. Abel has not only read it over, but contributed a great deal of constructive criticism, numerous references, and not a few of her own ideas. Those used by me, which are supplementary to what I had myself discovered, I have marked "A", though it must be said that the portions so marked denote only a small part of the service rendered. I am not sure that Dr. Abel would approve of all parts of this study, but I am very certain that I have written it a great deal better because of her encouragement and assistance.—E. R. T.]

Increasing agitation about extending the franchise to women has been accompanied by study of the position of women in the past, with the intention of proving that once they had political rights which afterwards were lost. It is pointed out that women as well as men inherited feudal tenure, partook of gild privileges, and held rights in boroughs;¹ that they granted money to the king of England, were summoned to parliament, and could return members to parliament.² In the history of the American colonies it has been noted that Margaret Brent asserted her right to sit in the assembly of Maryland.³ In some cases, I think, false conclusions with respect to suffrage have certainly been drawn.

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1911), I. 72, 262, 263, 308, 314; Luchaire, *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1909), p. 373; Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, I, 29, 30, II, 4, 14, 49, 125, 127, 128, 212; Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, I, 39, 40, 78, 79, 97, (A).

² *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 546; Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, I, 164; May, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. III, by Francis Holland (New York, 1912), p. 59 (A); C. C. Stopes, *British Freewomen, Their Historical Privilege*, p. 96; M. G. Fawcett, *Women's Suffrage*, pp. 8, 9.

³ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 215.

In New Jersey, however, in the period from 1790 to 1807, women were permitted to vote, and not a few of them actually did so. It is probable that this is the most important instance of voting in government elections by English-speaking women in any early time.

This story, like others similar, has to do largely with one of the roughly drawn state constitutions of the early Revolutionary period. In 1776 the second Continental Congress recommended that the people of the colonies erect state governments. Accordingly in New Jersey a convention meeting at Burlington, Trenton, and New Brunswick, May 26 to July 2, secretly drafted a document which shortly after was published. The manner in which this convention did its work, and the reasons which led to the particular form of the constitution, are scarcely known, for the task was done in secret, and very scanty records have been preserved.⁴ But it is known that the draft was prepared in two days, and agreed to in six more;⁵ and there is no doubt that afterwards some of the provisions were found ill-considered and others difficult to understand. In regard to the suffrage this constitution provided that "all inhabitants" of the state having certain qualifications might vote.⁶

In colonial times the franchise had been restricted practically to freeholders,⁷ but at the beginning of the Revolution desire for a wider electorate is manifest in numerous petitions for allowing householders to vote.⁸ As a result of this, in February,

⁴ *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New-Jersey*. . . . 1776, etc. (Trenton, 1831).

⁵ (Trenton) *The State Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser*, March 27, 1798.

⁶ "That all Inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other public officers, that shall be elected by the people of the county at large": Poore, *Federal and State Constitutions*, II, 1311.

⁷ A. E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America*, pp. 228, 229, 238, 248 (A).

⁸ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (1879), pp. 207, 220, 231, 340, 346, 372; *American Archives*, fourth series, IV. 1579, 1594 (A).

1776, the Provincial Congress had appointed a committee to prepare an ordinance embodying an extension of the franchise to "every person" of full age and of one year's residence and worth fifty pounds.⁹ These were the provisions which were incorporated a little later in the constitution. It is not improbable that the patriots, a minority in New Jersey, hoped to win to their support numerous malcontents who desired a share in the government of the commonwealth.

In 1777 an act passed to regulate elections did not state the qualifications of electors, but declared that the judges of elections were to be chosen by "the Inhabitants of each County, entitled to vote for Representatives in the said Council and General Assembly," and that if objection were made to any person offering to vote he should declare "*I verily believe I am twenty-one Years of Age, and worth Fifty Pounds lawful Money clear Estate in this State; and that I am and have been for one whole Year last past an Inhabitant of this County.*"¹⁰ This act was continued until 1779, when another was passed to the same effect. In 1783 a general election law stated the suffrage qualifications as clearly as they had been laid down in the constitution: "All Inhabitants of this State of full Age, who are worth *Fifty Pounds*, Proclamation Money, clear Estate in the same, and have resided within the County in which they claim a Vote for twelve Months immediately preceding the Election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly, and also for all other publick Officers that shall be elected by the People of the County at large."¹¹ Meanwhile it does not seem that there was any agitation as to whether the law and the constitution permitted women to vote. The matter was neither affirmed nor denied, and seems not to have been a subject of discussion.

In 1790 revision of the election law for certain counties was

⁹ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress*, p. 373; also pp. 429, 430 (A).

¹⁰ *Acts of the . . . General Assembly of the State of New-Jersey*, 1776-1777, pp. 54, 56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124 (October 11, 1777); *Ibid.*, 1779, p. 98 (June 10, 1779); *ibid.*, 1779-80, pp. 34, 35 (December 24, 1779); *ibid.*, 1783, p. 17 (December 16, 1783).

taken up in the assembly.¹² It was said long after that on this occasion, while a new bill was being drafted, Joseph Cooper, a Friend of West Jersey, and a member of the committee in charge, urged that women had the right to vote, and to please him the committee reported a bill in which the franchise was conferred upon voters referred to as "he or she."¹³ The bill passed the assembly with only three votes against it, and became law on November 18.¹⁴ This act declared that "all free Inhabitants of this State" of full age and with the required qualifications of residence and property "shall be entitled to vote," and that "no Person shall be entitled to vote in any other Township or Precinct, than that in which he or she doth actually reside at the Time of the Election."¹⁵ It may be remarked that the provisions of this act were extended to other counties somewhat later.¹⁶

The account of the part taken by Joseph Cooper must be regarded as traditional, but it would not be surprising if the explicit inclusion of women in the franchise were brought about through the influence of Friends, since the Quakers had consistently maintained the essential equality of women with men. Thomas Clarkson, who was about this time making a study of the Friends in England, notes the good qualities and the practical education of their women. "Independently of their private character," he adds, "they have that which no other body of women have, a public character."¹⁷ Among the Friends women preached, they appointed representatives to the meetings, held their own councils at which women presided, chose their own committees, and appointed women overseers and elders. They held office in

¹² *Votes and Proceedings of . . . the General Assembly of . . . New Jersey*, October 30, November 14, 1789, May 19, 21, October 27, 1790.

¹³ W. A. Whitehead, "A Brief Statement of the Facts Connected with the Origin, Practice and Prohibition of Female Suffrage in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, first series, VIII, 102 (1856).

¹⁴ *Votes of the Assembly*, November 4, 1790; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1790, p. 669.

¹⁵ *Acts of New Jersey*, 1790, pp. 672, 673.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1796, p. 49 (March 10).

¹⁷ "This is a new era in female history," he declares: *A Portraiture of Quakerism* (New York, 1806), III, 246.

the same manner that men did, though they could not be correspondents, arbitrators, legislators, or on committees of appeal. Substantially no distinction was made between men and women in the society.¹⁸ Notwithstanding, there is apparently at this time no evidence that the women of New Jersey, whether of the society of Friends or not, sought the franchise or made use of it after their right had been acknowledged.

For some years no important change was made in the election law. When in 1794 an act was passed prescribing the manner in which representatives were to be chosen to the Federal congress, it was directed that the elections should be held "under the same regulations" as those under which members of the state legislature were chosen.¹⁹ There was, however, considerable dissatisfaction with the existing provisions owing to lack of uniformity and frequent change. In some counties of the state voting was by ballot, in others it was *viva voce*; but from time to time counties were admitted to one class or taken over into the other.²⁰ A new law seemed desirable, and in 1796 a committee was appointed to prepare a bill to secure "a uniform mode of election." The bill which they reported was taken rapidly through the council, and brought down to the assembly, where with some amendment it was passed by a vote of thirty-two to four.²¹ While it was passing through the legislature there seems to have been no debate whatever on the subject of women's franchise. The purpose of the bill was to secure uniformity of procedure.²² Again by this act "all free inhabitants" properly qualified were to vote, and women were included as well as

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

¹⁹ *Acts of New Jersey*, 1794-5, pp. 928, 931; *ibid.*, 1796, p. 119.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1777, p. 61; 1779, p. 36; 1783, pp. 15-17, 75, 76; 1788, p. 502; 1790, p. 671; 1794, p. 950; 1795, p. 1059; 1796, p. 49.

²¹ *Journals of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, October 26, November 4, 10, 11, 12, 14, 1796; *Votes of the Assembly*, November 15, 1796, January 21, February 10, 16, 21, 22, 1797.

²² "By this bill the election throughout the state is made uniform, and to be by townships and by ballot:" (Newark) *Centinel of Freedom*, March 15, 1797.

men, the legislators taking particular care to make this clear.²³

It is not apparent that up to this time many women of New Jersey had availed themselves of the privilege accorded them, but an instance soon occurred which attracted general attention. In October, in Essex County, a lively contest arose between John Condict of Newark and William Crane of Elizabeth, candidates for the legislature respectively of the Republican and the Federalist parties. Condict triumphed by a narrow margin, but not until a throng of women in Elizabethtown had gone to the polls in a last effort to save his rival.²⁴ The account of this occurrence, which was immediately published in the local paper, was widely circulated.²⁵ The comment would seem to indicate that this was the first time that any number of women had ever voted in the state²⁶

The observations are very interesting. One writer of the opposing political party coarsely declared that "the husbands and sweethearts of these heroines begin to suspect that some motive other than a love of the federal cause excited the enterprize." A local wit asserted that it was "a general opinion that females ought not to intermeddle in political affairs." He added that the emperor of Java employed women to advantage in his diplomatic service; while a correspondent asked whether it was not probable "that we should have obtained better terms in a certain treaty, had some WIDOW been employed to negotiate it, instead of an

²³ "No person shall be entitled to vote in any other township or precinct, than that in which he or she doth actually reside at the time of the election:" *Acts of New Jersey, 1797*, pp. 171-174 (February 22). "Every voter shall openly, and in full view deliver his or her ballot . . . to the said judge:" *ibid.*, p. 173. It should be noted, however, that in 1798 an act for the regulation of townships declared that "every white male person" with qualifications required might vote on township matters, "and no other person:" *Laws of New Jersey* (published by William Patterson, Newark, 1800), p. 283 (A).

²⁴ Whitehead, p. 102; (Newark) *Centinel*, October 18, 1797; *Wood's Newark Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser*, October 18, 1797.

²⁵ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, October 18, 1797; (Trenton) *State Gazette*, October 24, 1797; (Newark) *Centinel*, October 25, 1797.

²⁶ Somewhat later this was specifically stated: "It will be recollected that it was at Elizabeth that the women were first introduced to the election poll in this county, and I believe in this state:" "Manlius" in (Newark) *Centinel*, February 17, 1807.

extraordinary MALE minister."²⁷ Some of the comments had a curiously modern tone. One observer spoke of the "rights of women,"²⁸ and another published a humorous poem, striking in itself, and of interest as affording a clue to the arguments which advocates of the cause had been urging:

NEW-JERSEY hail! thrice happy state!
thy genius still befriends thee;
The *Arts* obedient round thee wait,
and Science still attends thee:
In freedom's cause you gain'd applause,
and nobly spurned subjection;
You're now the *Oracle of Laws*,
and *Freedom of Election*!

Let Democrats, with senseless prate,
maintain the softer sex, sir,
Should ne'er with politics of state
their gentle minds perplex, sir;
Such vulgar prejudice we scorn;
their sex is no objection:
New *trophies* shall our *brows* adorn,
by *Freedom of Election*!

What tho' we read, in days of yore,
the woman's occupation,
Was to direct the wheel and loom,
not to direct the nation:
This narrow-minded policy
by us hath met detection;
While woman's bound, man can't be free,
nor have a *fair Election*.

* * * * *

Oh! what parade those widows made!
some marching check by jole, sir;
In stage, or chair, some beat the air,
and press'd on to the *Pole*, sir:
While men of rank, who played this prank,
beat up the widow's *quarters*;
Their hands they laid on every maid,
and scarce spar'd wives, or daughters!

²⁷ (Newark) *Centinel*, October 18, 1797; (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, October 18, 1797.

²⁸ "The *Rights of Man* have been warmly insisted on by Tom Paine and other democrats, but we outstrip them in the science of government, and not only preach the *Rights of Women*, but boldly push it into practice—Madame Wolstencrafts has certainly the merit of broaching this subject:" (Newark) *Centinel*, October 18, 1797.

This precious clause of section laws
 we shortly will amend, sir;
 And woman's rights, with all our might,
 we'll labour to defend, sir:
 To Congress, lo! widows shall go,
 like metamorphosed witches!
 Cloath'd with the dignity of state,
 and eke, in coat and breeches!

Then freedom hail! thy powers prevail
 o'er prejudice and error;
 No longer shall man tyrannize,
 and rule the world in terror:
 Now one and all, proclaim the fall
 of Tyrants!—Open wide your throats,
 And welcome in the *peaceful* scene,
 of government in petticoats!!!

It was predicted that "as women are now to take a part in the jurisprudence of our state, we may shortly expect to see them *take the helm*—of government."²⁹

The affair seems to have been an unusual one, and I have found no mention of women exercising the franchise in the years immediately following; but it is said that they voted throughout the state in 1800, and there is no doubt that they voted in a state election in 1802, and probably in another also four years later.³⁰ In 1798 a writer lamented the fact that voting by women gave the towns advantage over the country, because townsmen could more easily bring their women to elections, and declared that "Many important election contests, have been terminated at last, by these auxiliaries."³¹ It would appear, however, that they did not vote generally or on many occasions, since the newspapers do not usually mention them in describing elections.³² It is, of course possible that the papers fail to comment upon what had come to be regarded as a matter of course, but there is reason to

²⁹ "THE FREEDOM OF ELECTION. A NEW SONG. *To the Tune of—The Battle of the Kegs,*" *ibid.*

³⁰ Whitehead, p. 103; (Trenton) *True American*, October 25, 1802; *Votes of the Assembly*, November 16, 1802; (Newark) *Centinel*, February 17, 1807.

³¹ "Eumenes" in (Trenton) *State Gazette*, January 23, 1798.

³² For example, (Newark) *Centinel*, January 4, 1797 (A); *The Newark Gazette*, October 21, 28, 1800; (Morristown) *Genius of Liberty*, October 23, 1800; *Centinel*, October 23, November 13, 1804.

believe that the people of New Jersey did not so look upon the matter.

From the first there had been doubt as to the propriety of women being admitted to the suffrage,³³ and very soon their right to participate was called in question. Beginning in 1796 and continuing through the next four years appeared a remarkable series of newspaper articles, which criticised the constitution and explained the necessity of revising it.³⁴ In 1798 the author said: "It has ever been a matter of dispute upon the constitution, whether *females*, as well as males, are entitled to elect officers of government. If we were to be guided by the *letter* of the charter, it would seem to place them on the same footing in this particular; and yet, recurring to *political* right and the nature of things, a very forcible construction has been raised against the admission of *women*, to participate in the public suffrage."³⁵ In 1799 a correspondent writing to his paper urged the desirability of amending the state constitution. Among the things to be considered, he said, was the placing of the rights "of *electors* and *elected* upon safer and more rational principles" by "ascertaining the right of *females* to vote at elections."³⁶ In the year following the editor of the Newark *Centinel* bitterly arraigned the corruption of the Federalists of Elizabethtown in bringing forward "the widows and maids of that place . . . to vote for the federal ticket."³⁷ In 1802 a writer decrying a corrupt election said, "we have seen in

³³ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, October 18, 1797; (Trenton) *State Gazette*, October 24, 1797; (Newark) *Centinel*, October 25, 1797.

³⁴ Published in (Trenton) *State Gazette*, March, 1796, February 14, 1797, January 9, 16, 23, 30, February 6, 13, 20, 27, March 6, 20, 27, April 3, June 12, July 24, 31, August 14, 21, September 4, 11, 18, October 2, 9, 30, November 6, 1798, and in other numbers. Apparently some of the articles were printed in various papers: (Morristown) *Genius of Liberty*, October 9, 1800 (A). Many of them were published together as a pamphlet: *Eumenes: Being a Collection of Papers, Written for the purpose of exhibiting some of the more prominent Errors and Omissions of the Constitution of New-Jersey . . . and to Prove the Necessity of Calling a Convention, for Revision and Amendment* (Trenton, 1799). The author was William Griffith of Burlington. For the quotations from *Eumenes* I am indebted to the late William Nelson of Paterson, New Jersey.

³⁵ *Eumenes*, p. 33; *State Gazette*, January 23, 1798.

³⁶ (Trenton) *Federalist*, November 4, 1799.

³⁷ (Newark) *Centinel*, December 9, 1800.

Elizabeth-Town the practice of bringing women and girls to vote first introduced, in direct violation of the spirit and intention of the law."³⁸

To some there appeared no doubt that women were enfranchised by the constitution of the state,³⁹ and that the state election laws confirmed this. In 1800 a member of the legislature declared that when the Assembly was considering a bill to regulate the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States, a motion was made to amend by adding: "That it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that the inspectors of elections in the several Townships of this State, shall not refuse the vote of any widow or unmarried woman of full age . . . provided each of the said persons shall make it appear on oath or otherwise, to the satisfaction of the said inspectors, that . . . she is worth £50 clear estate." The amendment was rejected because it was said that the constitution clearly guaranteed this right to women, and the inspectors must be guided thereby. "Our Constitution," he added, "gives this right to maids or widows *black or white*."⁴⁰ Two years later, when an election law was being considered, it was moved "to exclude all persons from voting excepting free white males," but the proposition was easily voted down.⁴¹

That there was uncertainty notwithstanding, is evident from the fact that among those who agreed that women should vote, there was disagreement about what women might do this. The constitution stated explicitly that all properly qualified "inhabitants" should have the franchise, and the election laws made it clear that this referred to women as well as to men, without any exception save that they be duly qualified. It was the prevailing opinion, however, that married women were excluded. In de-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1802.

³⁹ "I believe, that the convention, who framed the constitution, had no view to the admission of females, either single women or widows, to elect the public officers; but such is the phraseology of the constitution, that it seems a violation of it, not to admit their votes. The best constitutions have guarded against any mistakes, on this head;" "The generally received opinion. . . is, that the constitution permits it:" *Eumenes*, pp. 33, 34.

⁴⁰ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 11, 1800.

⁴¹ *Votes of the Assembly*, November 29, 1802.

scribing the elections in which women voted some of the contemporary writers mention only widows and women unmarried.⁴² In 1802, when an election was contested, one of the complaints was "that married women voted." The committee by whom the complaint was heard upheld the election, because it appeared that only one had done this, and she, being deserted by her husband several years before, had resumed her former name, and under that name paid taxes. But on the same occasion the committee dismissed another such complaint on a technicality.⁴³ It can scarcely be doubted that some married women did vote without protest.⁴⁴ It may be remarked that the election law of 1797, when it specified the inclusion of women in the franchise, omitted the words "clear estate" in the property qualification as expressed in the constitution, apparently ignoring a restriction which would have excluded married women as the law of property was at that time.⁴⁵

It seems probable that the general opinion, so far as it found expression, was that women might vote, if not under the constitution, at least under the state laws. Frequently there were complaints about improper elections, but usually no objection is made to qualified female voters. In 1798 a petition alleged fraud and undue influence, but made no allusion to women. Two years later the Federalists of Essex County were accused of receiving among other votes known to be illegal those of "negro wenches," but the complaint was that they were negresses, supported by charity.⁴⁶ In 1802 the Federalists again used the votes of women,

⁴² (Newark) *Centinel*, October 18, 1797, December 9, 1800.

⁴³ *Votes of the Assembly*, November 16, 1802.

⁴⁴ A sarcastic writer declares that during the election at Elizabeth in 1797, "the alacrity with which the matrons, and even maids, assembled, afforded a transient prospect of immediate relief" to the Federalists. He speaks also of the "husbands and sweethearts" of these women: (Newark) *Centinel*, October 18, 1797.

⁴⁵ "Fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate," 1776: Poore, II, 1311; "Fifty Pounds Proclamation Money clear Estate," 1790; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1790, p. 672; "fifty pounds, proclamation money," 1797: *ibid.*, 1797, p. 174; see Carpenter v. Cornish (Supreme Court of New Jersey, 1912): 83 *Atlantic Reporter* 31.

⁴⁶ (Newark) *Centinel*, February 20, 1798, December 16, 1800.

but objection was made because some of the votes received were of women not qualified as to residence, age, and property.⁴⁷

If one examines the evidence and the legal precedents, the difficulty of deciding the question is as apparent now as it was then. Some of the important provisions in early state constitutions were drafted in such manner that what they seemed to mean in plain words was very different from what they were interpreted to mean. In Pennsylvania, the suffrage clauses in the constitutions of 1776 and 1790 were so worded that it was for a great many years doubtful whether or not negroes might vote; and when the matter came up for final interpretation in 1838, the supreme court itself was reluctant to decide.⁴⁸ These constitutions provided that every "freeman" properly qualified might vote, and the difficulty lay in deciding the significance of "freeman,"—whether it referred to all men free, or was to be understood with certain legal limitations valid when the instrument was drawn and previously.⁴⁹ Similarly, the New Jersey constitution of 1776, which granted the franchise to "all inhabitants," may seem more inclusive than it was intended to be. Had women voted in New Jersey in colonial days, then there might be no question about the term comprehending women as well as men, but no woman is known to have done this, and the colonial laws granted the suffrage in terms as vague as those afterwards written.⁵⁰ If, when the constitution was adopted, there had been agitation for the inclusion of women in the franchise, and if the matter had been debated in the convention, it might be supposed that the suffrage clause represented an innovation, and included women with men, but there seems to be no record that the matter was discussed. Ambiguous phrases must be understood in the sense which they probably had to the men who used them for a particular purpose. It then becomes probable that "all inhabi-

⁴⁷ (Trenton) *True American*, October 25, 1802; (Newark) *Centinel*, November 2, 1802.

⁴⁸ E. R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania, 1639-1861*, pp. 169-190.

⁴⁹ Poore, II, 1542, 1551; *Hobbs v. Fogg* (Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1838): 6 Watts 553-560.

⁵⁰ Allinson, *Laws of New Jersey*, pp. 6, 69, 70, 306.

tants" means no more than "all men," since before 1776 only men had voted in New Jersey. Some force is given to this contention by the fact that the constitution itself ordains that the previous laws of the province shall remain in force unless they are incompatible with the constitution, and no law to regulate the qualifications of electors was passed until 1783, when the expression "all Inhabitants" remained as in the constitution.⁵¹ Moreover, from a strictly legal point of view, the constitution of 1776, in ordaining that all qualified inhabitants might vote, who had resided for twelve months preceding in the county "in which they claim a vote," might be thought to exclude all but men, since in 1776 men alone, it would seem, had by long custom made the privilege good.⁵²

If resort be had to contemporary expressions the same ambiguous wording is discovered, as might be expected. In 1776 a petition from the inhabitants of Morristown asked that "all officers in civil government may be annually elected by the people."⁵³ In 1782 the legislature declared that "every Person" on parole or under indictment for aiding the enemies of the state should be incapable of voting.⁵⁴ In 1801 an advertisement notified the "Inhabitants of the Township of Morris" that "the annual Election for the choice of members of the Legislature, Sheriff, &c. will open."⁵⁵ On the other hand, somewhat earlier, a member of the legislature declared in the Assembly that it was a fundamental principle of good government that representation and taxation should go together, and lamented that some men were excluded from the suffrage. "This," he said, "requires a revision; every man, in my opinion, who pays a tax for the support of government, has a right to vote for a man by whom he is to be taxed."⁵⁶

It cannot be denied that the matter is dubious and that there is ground for difference of opinion; but the important thing is

⁵¹ Poore, II, 1313; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1783, p. 17.

⁵² Poore, II, 1311; 83 *Atlantic Reporter* 32.

⁵³ *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New-Jersey . . . 1776*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ *Acts of New Jersey*, 1782, p. 119.

⁵⁵ (Morristown) *Genius of Liberty*, October 1, 1801.

⁵⁶ (Newark) *Centinel*, April 24, 1798.



that this doubtfulness existed. In the years after 1776 it was not clear to all people of New Jersey whether the constitution admitted women to vote or not. Two laws explanatory were passed by the legislature, but the legislature might annul them, as it afterwards did, and then the meaning of the constitution would depend ultimately upon the decision of the majority of the people. Meanwhile the subject of women's suffrage remained a debatable question which might be decided differently by different men. The fourth article of the constitution, said *Eumenes*, declares that all inhabitants qualified shall vote. "Those who support the rights of women, say, that '*all* inhabitants,' must mean *all women* inhabiting, as well as *all men*; whereas, it is urged on the other side, that the makers must have *meant* all *male* inhabitants, and that the expression is to be restrained, so as to arrive at the *intent* of the framers of the instrument." And he adds: "This difference of sentiment has given rise to diversity of practice on this head, and furnished a pretence, from which, many an electioneering trick has resulted . . . It is well known, that women are admitted or rejected, just as it may suit the views of the persons in direction."⁵⁷

The uncertainty had to do not merely with women but with negroes as well, and conceivably with slaves and with servants also. This was a time when the Friends of Pennsylvania and the states near by were exerting themselves to the utmost for the betterment of the blacks, and were beginning to urge their economic and political equality with white people.⁵⁸ In Pennsylvania there was probably little voting by negroes at this time, but in New Jersey it was not infrequent, and sometimes unquestioned; while until 1790 the law did not explicitly forbid the vote to servants and to slaves.⁵⁹

Accordingly it may be seen that during the period after 1776 there was in regard to suffrage in New Jersey considerable uncertainty, owing to the wording of the fundamental law and

⁵⁷ *Eumenes*, p. 33.

⁵⁸ Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 210, 211.

⁵⁹ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 11, December 9, 1800; *Votes of the Assembly*, November 16, 1802; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1790, p. 672.

of the legislative enactments supplementary to it; and that this uncertainty had to do with unfree persons and negroes, but particularly with the women of the state; that the law was construed diversely in different places and at different times; and that the very uncertainty afforded ground for abuse. As a matter of fact, the passion and excitement of election contests and unscrupulous desire to win caused repeated abuse and notorious scandal.

Those who believe that political corruption and local maladministration are greater evils arisen in a modern civilization of industrial development and combination, should study the details of American political history in earliest days to see how our ancestors lamented these same things, and opposed them, perhaps, with less vigor. In New Jersey the law made elaborate provision for the proper conduct of elections, and provided penalties for bribery, slander, corruption, and intimidation.⁶⁰ This was of little avail. Often there was outrageous disregard of civic honesty, followed by frantic appeals for legal redress or legislative intervention. In 1794 the Supreme Court declared void an election in which voters were admitted on their bare declaration and in which the ballot-box was probably broken open.⁶¹ In 1798 Federalists complained of voting by aliens newly arrived.⁶² Following an election about the same time, the defeated party maintained that the victors had used undue influence, that voters had been admitted without proper tests, and that the ballot-box had been opened.⁶³ On another occasion a Republican meeting in Essex County declared that the Federalists had taken the votes of British officers on half pay, of Frenchmen with no property, and of pauper negro women.⁶⁴ In 1802 petitions came to the legislature from Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties praying an investigation into illegal proceedings during the October elections. To a committee appointed it was related that at Maidenhead married women and citizens of Philadelphia

⁶⁰ *Acts of New Jersey*, 1790, pp. 670, 672, 673.

⁶¹ 1 *New Jersey Reports*, 283-295.

⁶² (Newark) *Centinel*, April 17, 1798; (Trenton) *Federalist*, November 4, 1799.

⁶³ (Newark) *Centinel*, February 20, 1798.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1800.

had voted, and that voting by proxy had been allowed. During the investigation it was maintained that proxies were regularly received there.⁶⁵ In regard to an election at Trenton it was alleged that voting was done by aliens, non-residents, persons under age, persons without the required amount of property, married women, negroes, and slaves.⁶⁶ The committee disregarded the complaints, but some of the newspapers were loud in denunciation. One Republican asserted that the Federalists had triumphed through riot, bribery, and pressure put upon Irish and Scottish industrial workers; while another said that their candidates "were elected by the illegal votes of proxies, boys, beggars, foreigners, and slaves."⁶⁷ Not a few writers called attention to the danger which such corruption threatened to the constitution and liberties of the state. It is not surprising, then that there was discontent with election regulations, and desire to amend them.⁶⁸

In 1802 a committee was appointed to examine the election laws and report amendments.⁶⁹ Meanwhile a bill had been introduced, but it was afterwards dropped.⁷⁰ In the next year, following a petition from Gloucester County, a slight change was made.⁷¹ Then in the Autumn of 1806 a bill was introduced in the Assembly. It is probable that some of the members favored a drastic change, but it is not clear that the bill was

⁶⁵ *Votes of the Assembly*, October 27, 29, November 1, 4, 16, 1802; (Trenton) *True American*, October 25, November 8, 1802.

⁶⁶ *Votes of the Assembly*, November 16, 1802.

⁶⁷ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 2, 1802; (Trenton) *True American*, November 15, 1802. It was suggested that the editors of the Trenton *Federalist* might do well to portray to their readers "An election scene exhibited with a number of *negro slaves* advancing to the poll with *federal* tickets, chaunting the following lines:

"Massa be good, he gibbe me holiday,
De tory again be de bes men of all he say,
So de paper I tick in de box as he said,
And I be no more slave, 'cause I vote for a fed."

(Newark) *Centinel*, January 11, 1803.

⁶⁸ (Trenton) *Federalist*, November 4, 1799, September 28, 1807 (A).

⁶⁹ *Votes of the Assembly*, October 27, 1802.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1801; *Journals of the Legislative Council*, October 29, 30, November 2, 5, 6, 1801, October 26, 1803.

⁷¹ *Acts of New Jersey*, 1803, p. 234 (November 11).

intended to do more than regulate property qualifications.⁷² Just at this moment, however, a new aspect was put upon the matter by the perpetration of such frauds that the election at which they occurred is remembered to the present time.

In 1806 it became necessary to build a new court house in Essex County. The old one was at Newark, but the people of Elizabethtown desired to get the new one for themselves, and having a majority in the local board of freeholders, resisted placing the proposed building in Newark.⁷³ Finally it was decided to settle the location of the structure by a vote of the people of the county, and the legislature being petitioned to allow this, a law was passed ordering an election.⁷⁴ Elaborate preparations were made, and there was great excitement on both sides.⁷⁵ All over the county mass meetings were held and speeches made. It finally became unsafe for the people of Elizabeth to visit Newark, and two men of the latter place were assaulted in the neighboring town.⁷⁶ In the midst of this feeling the election was held.

The voting began February 10 at Day's Hill, near Elizabeth, which the people of that town desired as the site of the new building. It was the opinion of some that proceedings were fairly conducted at first. Irregularities soon began, however, and when the election was continued at Elizabeth the next day fraud became rampant.⁷⁷ But when on February 12, the last day of the contest, the turn of Newark came, corruption was so open and shameless that all previous dishonesty was surpassed. Men and boys voted unchallenged, and then went from poll to poll repeating. Vehicles were used to transport the voters quickly, and throngs of outsiders were brought in to swell the number, spies going meanwhile to Elizabethtown to learn how many votes were

⁷² *Votes of the Assembly*, November 5, 22, 1806. "The main features of this bill is to make the tax list the evidence of the requisite qualification of voters at elections:" (Trenton) *Federalist*, November 10, 1806.

⁷³ W. H. Shaw, *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 212.

⁷⁴ *Votes of the Assembly*, February 11, 12, 1806; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1806, pp. 711, 712 (November 5).

⁷⁵ (Newark) *Centinel*, February 17, 1807.

⁷⁶ Shaw, I, 212, 213.

⁷⁷ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 17, 1807.

needed. During this carnival of fraud women vied with men, and seemed, to contemporaries, to excel them. Women and girls, black and white, married and single, with and without qualifications, voted again and again. And finally men and boys disguised as women voted once more, and the farce was complete.⁷⁸

The result of this election was extraordinary. The population of Essex County at this time was about 22,000, from which number nearly 14,000 votes were cast, half as many as were wont to be polled in the entire state.⁷⁹ The largest number of votes ever given in the county previous to that time had been about 4,500, but on this occasion there were 5,000 in Newark alone.⁸⁰ The township of Acquacknonk, said to contain about 350 voters, polled nearly 1,900.⁸¹ Moreover, the voting was as partisan as it was scandalous. In Elizabethtown scarcely anyone favored Newark, in which place there was hardly an adverse vote.⁸² The re-

⁷⁸ "Men usually honest seemed lost to all sense of honor, so completely were they carried away by the heat of the strife:" Shaw, I, 213; "Women vied with the men, and in some instances surpassed them, in illegal voting. Only a few years ago there were living in Newark two ladies, who at the time of the election in their 'teens, voted six times each:" *ibid.*

⁷⁹ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, February 17, 1807; (Trenton) *True American*, November 23, 1807.

⁸⁰ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, April 14, 1807; (Trenton) *True American*, February 23, 1807. In 1810 the population was only 6,000: Shaw, I, 213.

⁸¹ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, February 24, 1807.

⁸² "The following is a statement of the votes in the several townships:

	<i>For Newark</i>	<i>For Day's-Hill</i>
Newark	4792	247
Elizabeth	29	2257
Acquacknonk	1884	7
Springfield	43	2388
Caldwell	860	
Westfield	8	927
Rahway	50	325

7665 [7666] 6181 [6151]": (Trenton)

True American, February 23, 1807. Some time before the election it was said that the number of electors was as follows: Newark, 1600; Elizabeth, 1000; Westfield, 600; Rahway, 350; Springfield, 300; Acquacknonk and Caldwell together, 650: (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal* February 3, 1807 (A).

sult was a triumph for Newark, and when the outcome of the contest was known the townsmen broke forth in wild rejoicing.⁸³

The jubilation of the victors was surpassed by agonized appeals from the defeated. Each side accused the other of beginning the fraud, but the outcries of the vanquished were more prolonged and vehement.⁸⁴ "A more wicked and corrupt scene was never exhibited in this State, or in the United States," said an Elizabethtown writer, while outsiders took up the refrain.⁸⁵ Meetings were at once held by the friends of Elizabeth to protest against such corruption, and petition the legislature to order a new election.⁸⁶ The Council took up the matter in the autumn, and a committee appointed to receive evidence, said there was no doubt that the contest had been illegally conducted. So, an act was passed declaring the election void.⁸⁷

This episode, unimportant in itself, was far-reaching in its consequences, since it attracted general attention and caused widespread indignation at election irregularities, just when the legislature was considering the alteration of the election law and the reform of various abuses pertaining to it. The consideration of the bill in the previous year had been interrupted at the close of the session; but within a week after the legislature assembled in the autumn, Mr. Condict reported from committee an amended bill to supplement the election law of 1797.⁸⁸ Condict was the Republican candidate of 1797, who had so nearly been defeated by the votes of the women of Elizabeth. It is possible that he was hostile to their enfranchisement; at all events his bill now contained a provision excluding them from the suffrage. In the

⁸³ (Newark) *Centinel*, February 17, 1807.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1807; (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, April 14, 1807.

⁸⁵ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, February 17, 1807. "It affords a melancholy picture of the morals of the people of Essex, and excites the most unpleasant sensations in the breast of every person favourably disposed to free, elective government:" (Trenton) *Federalist*, February 23, 1807.

⁸⁶ (Elizabethtown) *New Jersey Journal*, February 17, April 14, 1807; *Journals of the Legislative Council*, November 3, 1807.

⁸⁷ *Journals of the Legislative Council*, November 5, 25, 26, 1807; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1807, p. 52 (November 28).

⁸⁸ *Votes of the Assembly*, November 3, 1807.

debate on the second reading, when a motion was made to strike out the excluding clause, he made an eloquent speech in defense of the limitation of the franchise to "free, white, male, citizens." To the objection that the constitution extended the suffrage to "all inhabitants" he replied that these words could mean free white men and free white women married and single, free negroes and free negro women married and single, negro slaves and unfree negro women married and single, and also aliens; no one could suppose that the constitution really did mean this. Legislators should endeavor to understand the real intent of those who framed the constitution. He understood that they had admitted to the franchise only free white males, and that the legislature could debar others. That it ought to do this was made evident by the glaring fraud and corruption which existed under the present system, and which threatened to subvert the liberty of the people.⁸⁹ There is no doubt that he was voicing the opinion of many others. Earlier in the year a writer commenting upon the proceedings in Essex, declared that they afforded "striking evidence of the miserably defective system of New Jersey elections"; and a local paper adverting to "the unexampled outrages committed in the democratic county of Essex, at the late courthouse election," spoke in favor of the new law.⁹⁰ However this be, Condict's speech bore down all opposition, and the bill passing both houses by heavy majorities, at once became law.⁹¹

"WHEREAS," ran the preamble to the new act, "doubts have been raised and great diversities in practice obtained throughout the state in regard to the admission of *aliens, females, and persons of color, or negroes* to vote in elections, and also in regard to the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of voters in respect to *estate*.—AND WHEREAS, it is highly necessary to the safety, quiet, good order and dignity of the state, to clear up the said doubts

⁸⁹ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 24, 1807; (Trenton) *True American*, November 16 (A), 23, 1807.

⁹⁰ (Trenton) *Federalist*, February 23, November 30, 1807.

⁹¹ (Newark) *Centinel*, November 24, 1807; *Votes of the Assembly*, November 11, 1807; *Journals of the Legislative Council*, November 14, 1807; *Acts of New Jersey*, 1807, p. 14 (November 16).

by an act of the representatives of the people, declaratory of the true sense and meaning of the constitution, and to ensure its just execution in these particulars, according to the intent of the framers thereof;" no persons were thereafter to be allowed to vote except free white men, qualified according to the law.⁹²

In this manner was the franchise withdrawn from the women of New Jersey. That the law was not directed primarily against them, but was intended to exclude all classes who held the privilege doubtfully, is evident from the debates in the legislature, and from the comments made in the newspapers at the time. No marked hostility is shown toward women voters, nor are they blamed for election scandals more than the other classes who had taken part in them. The design of the legislators seems to have been a general amendment of the election law rather than the exclusion of women, and the discussion and publication of the law seem to have caused little or no comment upon this aspect of it.⁹³ Nor did the women themselves oppose exclusion with any vigor. It does not appear that they petitioned the legislature against the bill, or wrote against it in the newspapers. Apparently they regarded it with indifference.⁹⁴

The law of 1807 was followed by similar ones in 1820 and in 1839. In 1844 a new constitution expressly limited the suffrage to free white men.⁹⁵ In 1875 an amendment to the constitution admitted negro men, but continued the exclusion of all women.⁹⁶ It is said that some of the people of New Jersey regarded the law of 1807 as contrary to the constitution, in so far as it excluded from the franchise women, aliens, and negroes; and that

⁹² *Acts of New Jersey*, 1807, pp. 14-17.

⁹³ (Trenton) *Federalist*, November 16, 30, December 7, 1807; (Newark) *Centinel*, November 24, December 22, 1807; (Trenton) *True American*, December 14, 1807.

⁹⁴ The fact that women's occupations were as yet almost entirely domestic, and that the industrial revolution had not yet begun in New Jersey may explain this in part. In 1790 a writer opposes the introduction of manufactures, since women will be idle unless they go out into the industries: *The New-Jersey Journal, and Political Intelligencer*, June 30, 1790.

⁹⁵ Poore, II, 1315.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 1325.

their votes were accepted occasionally. An instance of this is mentioned as late as 1837.⁹⁷ In 1858 Lucy Stone of Orange refused to pay her taxes because as a woman she had no representation.⁹⁸ These instances, however, were exceptions to general and quiet acquiescence in the situation.

In 1912 the entire matter was reopened by a suit instituted in the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Here a woman sought a writ of mandamus to compel the local election board to register her name in order that she might vote. In this case her lawyer, also a woman, argued that the state constitution of 1776 included women in the franchise, and that the laws of 1790 and 1797 expressed the privilege more definitely; that the law of 1807 was invalid since it was in contravention of the constitution, and that the similar laws of 1820 and 1839 were invalid for the same reason; finally, that the constitution of 1844 could not be held to exclude women, since women were not permitted to vote for the delegates who drafted it, and that therefore all subsequent election laws based upon it were of no effect in debarring women from the suffrage. The Supreme Court decided against all of these contentions, and its decision was afterwards upheld by the Court of Errors and Appeals.⁹⁹

I have attempted to recount the earliest and most important instance of voting by women in the United States in earlier times. Women may have voted occasionally in New Jersey from 1776 to 1797, but there is no doubt that in the years from 1797 to 1807 they exercised the privilege, if not generally throughout the state, at least from time to time and in considerable numbers. The practice was based upon an interpretation of the constitution plausible then and since, but an interpretation at best dependent upon contemporary opinion and the will of the majority. That it was soon called in question and that women were excluded

⁹⁷ L. Q. C. Elmer, *The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey*, etc (Newark, 1872), p. 49.

⁹⁸ *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, first series, VIII, 105.

⁹⁹ Mary Philbrook, *Argument* (State Library, Trenton); 83 *Atlantic Reporter*, 31-34.

from the franchise was owing to the desire to amend an ambiguous law working badly, and was possible because of the indifference of the women and the hostility of many of the men. It is true that exclusion was owing partly to the fraud and illegal practices of some women voters, but these women were not worse than the men among whom they voted.

The Cherokee Negotiations of 1822 and 1823

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The Cherokee negotiations of 1822 and 1823 stand in Indian history as the first strong evidence of the pressure that the State of Georgia was prepared to bring to bear upon the United States government in order to force a compliance with her interpretation of the *Compact of 1802*. The final outcome of the policy then inaugurated was the expulsion of the Indians from the territory east of the Mississippi.

The documents here published are a portion of a collection of *Cherokee Agency Papers*, found some years since in the United States Indian Office. The collection originally comprised the correspondence of Return J. Meigs and Joseph McMinn with reference to the abortive negotiations, conducted under authority of congressional enactment. The collection seems to have been broken many years ago and a part of it sent, by the Secretary of War, to Congress. That part was apparently found among the Capitol Archives and used by the compilers for insertion in the *American State Papers*. Such letters as are to be found there are not re-printed here.

Those that are issued here, in whole or in part, are important as showing how, even in the selection of agents and commissioners, the federal government endeavored to subserve the interests of Georgia, also how determined the Cherokee leaders were, not to cede any more land to the white people. Nos. 24 and 25 reflect seriously upon the character of General William McIntosh, the same person, presumably, who later gained notoriety and suffered an ignominious death, that of a traitor, as a result of his complicity in the fraud connected with the negotiation of the Creek Treaty of Indian Springs.

A few documents, illustrating the unfriendly attitude of McMinn towards the Cherokees, particularly with reference to the agency site and the removal of intruders, have been omitted

because only remotely concerned with the negotiations of 1822 and 1823. Formal communications have been simply calendared.

No. 1.

Calhoun to Meigs,¹ June 1, 1822, notifying him that General John Floyd, Major Freeman Walker, and J. A. Cuthbert, "all of Georgia," have been appointed Commissioners by the President to negotiate a treaty of cession with the Cherokees.

No. 2

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 28th July, 1822.

SIR,

I have received a letter from the Secretary of War, the Hon^{ble} John C. Calhoun, informing me that, the President had appointed General John Floyd, Major Freeman Walker, & the Hon^{ble} J. A. Cuthbert all of Georgia, Commissioners to treat with the Cherokee Indians, enjoining on me to receive any instructions on all points which may be connected with the proposed treaty, from the Commissioners, & to do & render any service in my power to produce a favorable result to the negotiations with the Indians. And that my correspondence with the Commissioners must be through you, as your situation would afford greater facilities for communication both with you & the War department than that of General Floyd or with Mr. Cuthbert. I am ready to render the Commissioners any service in my power to bring your Commission to a successful result. And on this occasion permit me to say that much may perhaps depend on the place where the proposed treaty be held. And I conceive it my duty to say that this place will promise a greater prospect for success than any other. The Commissioners can have good accommodations for their personal comfort, and good office room for their convenience in transacting the business for themselves, or Secretary; & for correspondence in every direction, and to this place all heavy articles can have water carriage. Beef, flour,

¹ Calhoun's letter of instructions to the commissioners, June 15, 1822, is published almost entire, in American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. II, pp. 464-465.

bread stuff can be supplied with ease. Should the treaty be held in the interior of the Cherokee nation the expense will be several thousand dollars more than if held here. I mention this because the Indians have a very strong desire to have the Conferences held in the interior of their Country. They have their reasons, & these stand opposed to your wishes. It is my opinion that very much depends as to a successful result to this important business, on the place where the negotiations shall be held. At first thought it may not be considered material (perhaps): but these things have a bearing on the subject. More decency, more respect, more good order, more of civilization, would be observed here than in any part of the interior of the Cherokee nation.

I wish success to your mission, my duty only induces me to make these observations, and I do it with proper respect & consideration. I feel more anxiety that the proposed treaty shall result to the satisfaction of the parties than I have felt on any previous arrangement with this, or any other Indian nation or tribe: because I think the object contemplated is of greater magnitude than has been heretofore attempted, with any Indian Nation since the existence of our Government. With respect to Georgia it is of almost immense value, and with respect to the Indians of this tribe, it is perhaps a question, whether, they are to be or not to be? which question may be determined by the result of the approaching treaty. The Cherokee nation ever since the treaty of Hopewell² in 1785, have been under the pupilage of the United States, beginning first with the A. B. C. of measures to raise them from a state of nature to a state of civilization & refinement, everything that could be devised to effect the magnanimous views of the Government has been in successful experiment; much has been done; but it is perhaps impossible to civilize & refine any people, while they possess an immense wilderness so disproportioned to their population: but notwithstanding this insurmountable obstacle, enough has been done to evince to the world their susceptibility, & capability of improvement in the Arts, and in letters, so provided they can be placed on ground

² Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, vol. II, pp. 8-11.

where their minds may be excited to sober industry; nothing else is required to make them MEN. At that treaty in 1785 they gave up their ideas of sovereignty; they commuted that, for protection: had not that have been done their annihilation would long ago have been sealed. Heaven placed their destiny in the hands of the General Government which has hitherto secured their existence, that magnanimity yet stands pledged to preserve it. They must have an existence some where. Their arrival to a state of civilization would be a phenomenon grateful to the Government, who had by benevolent measures effected it, and to all the lovers of human nature. It would prove a fact doubted by some, that there is a physical impossibility in giving them, or in their capacity to acquire the manners & habits of civilized society. They may themselves probably believe that there is some mystery in our civil communities that will shut them out forever from our artificial Governments, when we know that all the requisites to make a good citizen is *only, common sense & honest intentions*, and of these we believe they have in as great abundance as ourselves. Jealousy is a predominate trait in the character of *all* the inhabitants of the forest. And it is difficult to make them believe that our magnanimous Governments will not ask them for cessions of land, or other arrangements with them; which cessions or arrangements, the Government as their parent would candidly advise them to comply with—therefore to remove that jealousy would be gaining an important point. If they are sincerely desirous of civilization they ought not to object to such arrangements as shall place them in the most eligible circumstance to acquire it. When I sat down to write I had no idea of giving you the trouble of reading my long letter. My situation has compelled me to think much on this subject; let that be my apology: but I know that the Commissioners can comprehend me in a moment—and may be assured that I wish to serve them. Please present me respectfully to General Floyd and to the honorable Mr. Cuthbert. I have the honor to be

your Obedient Servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

P. S. I have in conformity with the direction of the Secretary of War taken this mode, in addressing with yourself, all the Commissioners for holding the proposed treaty.

R. J. M.

FREEMAN WALKER Esquire,
Augusta, Georgia.

No. 3

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 11th September, 1822.

SIR,

Last evening after dark I had the honor of receiving your letter³ of the 9th ultimo. Having been advised by the Secretary of War, of the appointment of the Commissioners, directing me at the same time to correspond with them through the Hon^{ble} Freeman Walker esquire, via Augusta, as this route would afford the greatest facility for the correspondence. In pursuance of that advice, on the 28th July last I addressed a letter to Mr. Walker, stating to him my opinion on most of the points of enquiry in your letter. I received an answer⁴ from the Hon^{ble}. Mr. Walker informing me that he had declined the acceptance of his appointment, therefore did not feel himself authorized to make any "arrangements as to *time* or *place*." He expressed a doubt whether either of the other gentlemen would accept their appointment: but that if either of the other gentlemen should accept, he would forward to him my communication to him. In that communication it will appear that I had anticipated some of the questions stated in your letter. I will however reply to your enquiries.

1st. enquiry. "Where would be the most eligible point for holding said treaty &c?" I answer at the site of this Agency, it will be the least expensive & promising a more favorable result than any other point except at the seat of the War Department *under* the eye of the supreme Executive & the great Council of the Nation.

³ Floyd's letter to Meigs, August 9, 1822, has not been found.

⁴ The answer, dated August 14, 1822, is on file in the Indian Office.

2nd. enquiry. "When would be the best time for convening the Indians?" I answer the 20th October approaching. I will give my reasons. The crops of corn will by that time be generally secured, both by the Indians & the U. S. citizens. No pressure will embarrass the minds of either party, all will be disposed to act honorably, & this must be cultivated. In this country the weather is mild & temperate from the 20th of October to the 20th of November—and the Beef will be well fattened.

3rd. enquiry. "What number will probably attend?" I answer, several thousand. The number of rations issued on such occasions has been from 70,000 to 100,000 rations, that is, of meat, bread stuff, and salt, the component articles; *ardent spirits, soap and candles*, are excluded on these occasions.

4th. Inquiry. "Whether, & what price, (*the lowest*,) a contract could be obtained for the supplies of provisions?" I answer, I received a letter⁵ from the Hon^{ble} the Secretary of War dated 19th July last, informing me that he had enclosed a copy of my letter to him containing proposals for rations &c. of certain persons therein named,————to the Commissioners.

Those proposals were at the same rate as the contract under which they are now acting, made with them by me by order & approved by the Secretary of War at the time, namely, Meat, Bread-stuff, & Salt, at *army quantum* & weight, at eight cents pr. ration—lower than any contract ever before entered into in this country for the last twenty two years. The names of these persons are John D. McCarty, and Mathew McGhee. I am authorized to say, these persons are competent in

⁵ Included in this collection of agency letters, but omitted here because of slight importance.

point of fortune to secure a prompt fulfilment of their engagements, (I am also authorized to say that they will take the contract five mills, or even one cent lower than any other person, or persons;) taking it for granted; that the Honorable the Commissioners will not suffer any person, or persons, to bid with a view only of sporting with the interest of men who stand ready to fulfil an honorable contract, with the Government, having *now* in their hands, the *means*. They want no Credit, or any aid by advances, & have the disposition to do their duty. On your requisition they will furnish from 10,000 to 100,000 rations.

5th. Inquiry. Whether the Indians are anxious for a treaty? I answer. It is possible that there may be some who may wish to have a treaty: but if they are so disposed, they dare not say so, in the nation. This has I believe been ever the case. They will never be willing to part with the forest; they wish to raise up a Government within a Government which cannot be possibly permitted. Yet the address of the Commissioners has hitherto generally prevailed to obtain cessions of land.

Inquiry 6th. What extent of country remains within the limits to which the claims have not been extinguished? and your opinion of the probability of a successful issue of the negotiation?——I answer. I think there is 10,000,000 of acres lying within the chartered limits of Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama; upward of 7,000,000 of it in Georgia, the remainder in Tennessee & Alabama. But as the latest cessions have not been digested by any map that I have seen, I have no artificial data to aid me in forming an opinion.

If I knew the extent of the Government's views & wishes, also those of the State of Georgia, &

your instructions, I might give my opinion as to the probability of a successful issue. But it is time enough for that, when I shall have the honor to meet you. I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

P. S. Your letter was thirty two days on its way, to my hands. I presume you will have received my communication to the Hon^{ble} Freeman Walker before this shall have come to hand.⁶

R. J. M.

GENERAL JOHN FLOYD.

Fairfield (Near St. Marys) Georgia.

No. 4

FAIRFIELD (PLACE) NEAR ST. MARYS, GEORGIA

September 29th 1822

SIR

Your express bearer (Mr. John Tucker) delivered me yesterday at 2 o'clock, *P. M.* your dispatches of the 11th Inst, in answer to my inquiries of the 9th ultimo.

My requisition upon you for information, was predicated on a letter from the Secretary at War, notifying me of the non-acceptance of Major Walker, and that he had been directed to transmit to me, the papers, and documents, in his possession, relative to the contemplated Treaty. On the receipt of this information, I lost no time in making the inquiries, deemed necessary, as preparatory to the performance of the duties required of the Commissioners; since which, together with the papers received from Major Walker, I find your address to him on the 28th July past, in which, (as you justly remark) the most of the information required has been anticipated.

By a letter of the 24th ult. I have received advises from the Secretary at War, that Major Walker and Mr. Cuthbert having

⁶ This letter was accompanied by another of the same date, assuring General Floyd that he might safely confide in the bearer, John Tucker.

declined to act, as Commissioners, to hold a Treaty with the Cherokees, Duncan G. Campbell Esqr. and Gen^l. David Meriwether, have been appointed by the President to join me in the contemplated negotiation, and that they were instructed to communicate on the subject.

Since which, I have heard not a syllable from either of them, from which I infer that they also, have declined to accept. I regret sincerely this unavoidable delay: especially as the time which you suggest for the commencement accords with my views on the subject. The high estimation, in which I hold the integrity of your character, will have due weight with me, as respects your recommendations of place, for holding the Treaty, and the persons proper to contract with, for the necessary supply of provisions for the accomplishment of the contemplated object.

"The bid, of persons, with a view only of sporting with the interests of men, who stand ready to fulfil an honorable contract, with the Government," will find no encouragement within the controul of my influence.

The sum to be stipulated for any cession, which may be made, is left very much to the sound discretion of the Commissioners:—The extent, and quality, of the country to be ceded will regulate the price, to be given, which will be paid precisely in the manner, as in the late Creek Treaty, nor, is the price allowed to exceed that given in that purchase in proportion to quantity, and quality. The particular portion of country to be treated for, is also left to the discretion of the Commissioners.

The sum appropriated by law, you are doubtless acquainted with, which is placed to my credit in the Bank of Darien. This place of deposit appears too distant to promise *facility*, and *Security*, in its transmission, as it may be wanted. Where could it be lodged, to obviate these difficulties, to advantage? With a view to be relieved from a state of suspense I will give Genl. Meriwether, and Mr. Campbell my address, by which I may learn their determination, when I will again address you, and I hope more satisfactorily. I contemplate visiting—————during the session of the ensuing Legislature in the mean time accept my

acknowledgement of your prompt attention and Believe me to be
Respectfully Your Ob^t Ser.

JNO. FLOYD

No. 5

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 24th October, 1822.

SIR,

I have had the honor of receiving your letters of the 29th & 30th, Ultimo, by which I have experienced some regret on finding that some untoward circumstances have retarded the measures first concerted for holding a treaty or convention with the Cherokees, very interesting to your State, at as early a period as would have been desirable: because the great numbers generally attending on such occasions require that they be held in the open air. The autumnal months have always been preferred to any other season for this business: for altho' the Chiefs have from immemorial custom held the powers of making all important arrangements, they do not like to act in important measures except in the presence of their people, the mass of their population, & they generally come in, Men, Women, & Children. The delay, or elapse of time, more strongly points to this place as the best within the Cherokee nation for the contemplated negotiations, the provisions are on the spot. I will appropriate a convenient room in my Office for the Commissioners use in consulting & maturing their measures.

In your letter of the 29th as above you inform me the funds appropriated by law are placed to your credit, in the Bank of Darien, and that it is "too distant to promise *facility & security* in its transmission as it may be wanted." You ask me "Where could it be lodged to obviate these difficulties with advantage?" I answer in the Knoxville Bank, 70 miles from this place. Or it might be kept here—having a small military Guard. It has ever been part of the arrangement for holding treaties in this part of the Country to have a small detachment of the militia or regular troops to act under the direction of the Commissioners to insure good order, & have always been found usefull. The congregation of citizens & Indians is generally great & their

mutual prejudices sometimes produce collisions, & to allay them requires arguments, other than moral persuasion.

If the Commissioners have any disposable funds ready at their requisition, it would be wise policy to have them, that their application might require no delay. 10,000 or 20,000\$ made tangible at the signing a treaty in Convention will do more than three times the amount in prospect at a distant period. If the populace find out that there is money ready in the hands of the Commissioners, (& they will find it out) they will not be willing to leave the treaty ground without seeing it distributed; for if the money shall go into the national treasury, the after appropriation of it cannot be foreseen. Not only Indians; but all men are acted on by sensible objects, objects that are visible to the sight & tangible to the fingers ends. The vibration reaches the brain instantly, & warms the heart, & all the affections become volunteers for realizing the object. This is not art, & circumvention; in the present case it is Charity to the greatest number, who are the most helpless, for it is a fact that the infant born today is as great a proprietor as the first Chief, in all the land; it is the undivided common property of all.

I would despise & detest the idea of overreaching the Indian so as to get their lands without a valuable consideration; but it is right that they should be induced by proper motives calculated to do the greatest good to the greatest number. Under God they are under the greatest obligations to the United States for their present existence & already greatly ameliorated condition. At the close of the revolutionary war they were a conquered people, and according to the laws of war & the laws of nations their then country was forfeited to the conquerors. They were deceived by the English & shed their blood, & ours, profusely. Notwithstanding this was the case, the magnanimity of the United States lifting them above the principles of retaliation & revenge, our Government took them by the hand, & asked them the extent of their boundaries, & allotted their limits to live on & hunt on, made a compact with them the substance of which is this—on their part a surrender of their sovereignty in exchange for protection—

that the United States should have *the sole & exclusive right to regulate their trade, & manage their affairs as they should think proper!* See the 9th article of the treaty of Hopewell in 1785. What does the engagement of protection imply? Does it not imply on the part of the protected, a compliance with the *advice* of their protectors? Certainly it does.

The Government now *advises* them to let one of the States of the Union have a part of their immensely large territory, so disproportioned to their population, that it retards their advancement to a state of civilization & refinement.

If they are sincere in their desires for improvement, they will cheerfully comply with the requests of their father the President of the United States, who requests & *advises* them to let him have a part of their redundant land for his white children of the State of Georgia. His red & white children equally claim his care & protection, & his oath binds him as much to one as the other, & he must do his duty without partiality. Let us all throw away our prejudices & jealousy & live together like brothers who have derived our being from the same source, and who has placed us here where there is room enough for us all. I have the honor to be

Your Obedient Servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

P. S. Sir you invited me to write freely and fully on any thing appertaining to the views of the mission. I have endeavored to remove some of the clouds, & some of the prejudices that seemed to obscure the subject, that our path may be plain & fairly & justly lead to a satisfactory result. R. J. M.

The Honorable John Floyd
Georgia.

No. 6

MILLEDGEVILLE, 22d. Nov^r. 1822.

Col^o. R. J. Meigs,

SIR,

Having been appointed commissioners, on the part of the United States to negotiate with the Cherokee Nation, for the

extinguishment of their claim to lands lying within the chartered limits of the State of Georgia & signified our provisional acceptance of that appointment, it becomes our duty to apprise you of the *time & place* we have appointed for holding the treaty.

Gen^l. Floyd, (who has transmitted his resignation to the War Department a few days since) has furnished us with all the information he had acquired on this subject.

The reasons advanced in your letter to him of the 11th of September, have determined us to select the Agency as the place of our meeting, but our necessary engagements & convenience will not admit of an *earlier time* than the 15th of January next, at which *period* you will oblige us by inviting the Indians to convene. . . .

JAS. MERIWETHER
DUNCAN G. CAMPBELL

Col^o. R. J. Meigs.

No. 7

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 22nd. November, 1822.

SIR,

I enclose to you the copy of a letter addressed to me by the Cherokee National Council & National Committee, the contents of which they request me to communicate to the Georgia Commissioners for holding a treaty with them the present year, which I shall do as soon as possible, but think it my duty to communicate it to you.

Their declaration not to meet the Commissioners, is little short of a declaration of independence, which they never lose sight of, which I have frequently mentioned formerly in my letters to you. Such a declaration I consider as disrespectful to the United States Commissioners & to the Government, and (inconsistent) with their standing & dependent circumstances.

Their pretence of having obtained the sentiments of their people, is a bubble, for the populace are governed by a few leading men who fabricate their political catechism. Indeed their government is an aristocracy, consisting of about 100 men called Chiefs and those Chiefs are controled by perhaps twenty speculating in-

dividuals some of these individuals are making fortunes in trade by merchandise a considerable portion of which merchandise is whiskey, & other ardent spirits. The tendency of the conduct of these individuals is to perpetuate barbarism, by encouraging indolence.

The United States are now giving their Children a lettered education. It may be a question whether these children will retain their acquirements after they shall have been turned back into Indian Society of 10,000 souls only scattered over a wilderness of 10,000,000 of acres of land? If it shall once be admitted that the Cherokees are an independent people, I can hardly conceive our obligations to expend thousands, & thousands, of dollars to bring them to a state of refinement, while in many parts of the United States the children of our citizens are destitute of instruction in letters from the inability of their parents.

If they should persist in their resolution "never again to dispose of one foot more of land," the citizens of Tennessee, Georgia, & Alabama, would probably hardly be restrained long, from taking possession of their respective claims. This would be regretted by the Government, and I think still, if the United States Commissioners will invite the Cherokees to a conference for the purpose of making friendly arrangements, having for their object the advantage of both parties, that the Cherokees would meet them & take them by the hand, & the prospect would be greater, of succeeding than if their rash resolutions had never been made. (Need I make any apology for expressing myself freely on this subject? You enjoined on me to render all the service in my power to bring the negotiations to a favorable result, & this has been my object in my correspondence with the Commissioners.) I have wrote once to Mr. Freeman, and twice to General Floyd, & have received one letter from him. He urges me to write freely to him. In my letters to him I have kept in mind what I thought were your sentiments, in relation to arrangements with the Indians.

Some untoward circumstances have retarded this business, so that I am not informed of the time, or place, of meeting—Febru-

ary or early in March next would do very well. The persons here who offered to contract have every thing ready, & they want no advances from Government to enable them to provide. I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

The honorable John C. Calhoun,
Secretary of War.

Inclosure

NEW TOWN, Oct. 26th, 1822.

Colo. Return J. Meigs

SIR,

The courts of the several Districts having been requested to ascertain the sentiments of our citizens in their respective Districts on the subject of the contemplated Treaty and to report the same to the Head Chiefs—accordingly their several reports having been received and laid before the National Committee and Council the unanimous sentiments of the Cherokee People are determinedly opposed to disposing of one foot of land and therefore have determined not to meet any Commissioners on the subject of treating for land. The Head Chiefs & members of the National Committee & Council have fully accorded in the sentiments of their fellow citizens and accordingly have resolved not to meet any Commissioners on that subject. You will therefore make this determination of the Nation known to the United States Commissioners in your correspondence with them. We will at all times during the session of our National Council at this place receive with friendship any Agents or Commissioners of the United States on subjects not relating to a Treaty of cession for lands—as our nation have deliberately determined never again to dispose of one foot more of land. We have understood that you have rec^d instructions from the Sec^{ry}, of War to employ the militia to remove the intruders off our frontier lands.⁷ We

⁷ See McMinn to the Chiefs and Headmen of the Cherokee Nation, October 8, 1823 and the reply of the Cherokee Council, October 11, 1823 [Cherokee Agency Letters, O. I. A.]

therefore earnestly solicit your early attention to making arrangement for their immediate removal. It is certainly a very grievous infringement on the rights & privileges secured to us by Treaties, and we must beg that a stricter regard of justice will be observed by your Government in keeping Intruders off our lands. There are now a great many Intruders on our lands who have raised crops thereon for two years past, and many more will certainly move on during this winter if they are not kept off by your authority. We look to you for justice being the Agt. of the United States to support the good faith pledged by our Treaties. We must also request you to urge the investigation & decision of claims lodged in your Office by our Citizens for property stolen from them by the Citizens of the United States. A great portion of those depredations have been committed by those lawless intruders who have from time to time violated the laws of the United States with impunity, in the face of our repeated complaints to you.

We take you by the hand as Brothers & friends.

JNO. ROSS, *in behalf of the National Committee.*

PATH X. KILLER

GOING X. SNAKE

CHICKASATCHEE X.

MAJOR X. RIDGE, *in behalf of the Council*

A. McCoy, *Clk. N. Committee.*

INCLOSURE

NEW TOWN, Cherokee Nation.

In committee and council, October 23, 1822

Whereas it appears in the prints of the publick newspapers title to land within the chartered limits claimed by the State of and legislature of Georgia the congress of the United States did appropriate a sum of money last session with a view of holding a treaty with the Cherokees for the purpose of extinguishing their title to lands within the chartered limits claimed by the State of Georgia, and it also appearing in the publick prints that the president of the United States has appointed Commissioners in con-

formity to the views of said appropriation, and anticipating a call by the Commissioners, the head Chiefs of the Cherokee nation requested the Judges to ascertain the sentiments and disposition of the citizens of their respective districts on the subject, and to report the same to them, which reports having been accordingly made, and now laid before the National Committee and Council, declaring unanimously with one voice a determination to hold no treaties with any Commissioners of the United States to make any cessions of lands, being resolved not to dispose of even one foot of ground. Be it therefore known and remembered that we, the undersigned members of the National Committee and Council, after maturely deliberating on the subject, Resolved by the National Committee and members of Council that the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation will not meet any Commissioners of the United States to hold a Treaty with them on the subject of making cessions of lands, the property of the Cherokee Nation, as we are determined hereafter never to make any cessions of lands, having not more than sufficient for our nation and posterity, but on any other business not relating to the making of a treaty of cession, we will at all times during the session of the National Council at New Town, receive the United States Commissioners or Agents with friendship and cordiality and will ever keep bright the chain of peace and friendship which links the Cherokee Nation with the Government of the United States.

(Signed by JOHN ROSS and fifty-eight others)

No. 8

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 1st December, 1822.

GENTLEMEN,

I have this day received your letter of the 25th Ultimo, . . . by which I find that the Treaty with the Cherokees which has some time been delayed by sundry circumstances is soon expected to take place. . . I wrote Mr. Campbell on the 22nd. last month but could find no conveyance. That letter will now accompany this. . .

I never knew them willing to sell land, except a small tract

called Waffords settlement which lies on the frontier of Georgia. But I never knew a treaty fail of its main object. And to suffer them to frustrate the object of the Government by their rash resolution is in my opinion entirely inadmissible. . .

R. J. MEIGS.

The Honorable James Merriwether
Duncan G. Campbell

INCLOSURE

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 22nd November, 1822

SIR,

. . . it has become my duty to communicate to the Commissioners. . . a letter addressed to me by the Cherokee National Council & Committee, by which you will discover that they say they will not meet the Commissioners—if their object is to obtain a cession of land; that they will not sell one foot more of land &c. &c. This they pretend to say is the unanimous voice of their nation—they hope by this rash declaration to prevent the holding a treaty.

. . . The benevolence of our Government has saved the very existence of this people from temporal perdition, at an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars, by greatly ameliorating their condition, & by giving them a taste for the enjoyment of rational life. And shall they refuse a meeting with Commissioners of that Government, to confer on measures highly interesting to their own & our well being? There is room enough for us all & we must have a dense population from the interior of our Country to the waters edged on the Florida shore. Will the gov't give up this great object to nurse barbarism? No. It is an object should never be lost sight of. . .

R. J. MEIGS.

The Honorable Duncan G. Campbell,
Commissioner.

No. 9

To the Head Chiefs of the Cherokees, and all the other Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation:

FRIENDS & BROTHERS:

Your father, the President of the United States, having granted to the State of Georgia permission to hold a Treaty, or Convention, with the Cherokees in order to arrange certain matters with them interesting to both parties, & the said State having nominated some of its first Citizens for that purpose, they received their appointment from your father, the President, as Commissioners authorizing them to invite the Cherokees to a friendly conference with the Commissioners. The said Commissioners in the commencement of their duties have requested me to invite you to meet them at this Agency on the 15th January next, when they will take you by the hand in the name of your & our, Father, the President of the United States, & communicate to you their authority, & the objects contained in their instructions, where, it is hoped, that by friendly communications with each other, prejudices, (if any exist) may be consigned to oblivion—and that the result of the meeting may be satisfactory to both parties. We must mutually determine not to open our ears to ignorant, or prejudiced, individuals on either side.

The contract for rations is made & everything is ready, & yourself, & Path Killer will find the best accommodations our little village can afford, & to this place in behalf the Commissioners I now cordially invite you to come, & let me also take you by the hand. I received a letter from John Ross, signed by Path Killer, Going Snake, Chickasatchee & Major Ridge. Your signature was not there. The principal subject is that your Chiefs will not meet the Commissioners appointed by the President, your Father, in a friendly conference.

At this rash resolution, I was much surprised—It must be kept in mind that the invitation has its source in the President of the United States. It comes from him through the Commissioners of his appointment, therefore an abrupt rejection of it

would be highly indecorous & disrespectful, and after due consideration will not be persisted in.

It will not do to commit the government of your highest concerns into the hands of your young men, & let them have a predominant influence in your measures. If it was in my power I would come & see you; but is not. I therefore give you such advice as I would to my son or my brother.

I do not know the Commissioners, but I have a good right to consider them as Gentlemen, who have been selected on account of their merit, & that no apprehension of injury to the Cherokees ought to be indulged by your Chiefs, who I know from experience are capable of transacting business with propriety. I am with esteem & respect.

Your Brother,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

Cherokee Agency, 5th December, 1822,

Mr. Charles R. Hicks, Head Chief, Ch. Nation.

P. S. I shall send runners with invitations to the Chiefs to meet the Commissioners here on the 15th of next month as before stated.—R. J. M.

Mr. Charles Hicks,

Head Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

No. 10

(Circular)

The President of the United States, the political father of both his white & red Children, to whom we both look up to for protection in the enjoyment of our rights, having appointed the Honorable Duncan Campbell and the Honorable James Merriwether Commissioners to hold a friendly conference with the Chiefs and Headmen of the Cherokee Nation, and I having been previously directed by the honorable the Secretary of War to aid the Commissioners in the prosecution of their duties and now having been requested by them to invite the Cherokee Chiefs to meet them here on the 15th day of January next where the parties may take each other by the hand & enter into a friendly con-

ference on the subject of their instructions from our father, the President of the United States, & where they will expect to meet you as friends & brothers, with reciprocal confidence in each other, where jealousy & suspicion shall not be permitted to find a resting place. Our ears shall not be opened to any unworthy suggestions of ignorant or unprincipled individuals & I advise you to beware of being misled.

The rash resolutions of the late Council are premature, & extremely disrespectful to your father, the President. . . .

RETURN J. MEIGS.

Cherokee Agency, 6th Decem^r, 1822.

No. 11

James Blain and Thomas Glasscock to Meigs, January 17, 1823, notifying him that they have organized for business and soliciting his assistance.⁸

No. 12

Duncan G. Campbell and James Meriwether to Meigs, January 17, 1823, outlining their credentials.

No. 13

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 18th January, 1823.

Col. R. J. Meigs,

SIR:

We do ourselves the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your communication of this day relating to the pending negotiation with the Cherokees. It is true, as you remark, that we have been presented with difficulties since our arrival at this place, but we hope to be able to surmount them, by patience and perseverance. The prompt and efficient co-operation manifested on your part from the commencement of our correspondence to the present, entitles you to the approbation of the government and to our warmest acknowledgments.

We are at a loss to assign an adequate motive for the delay manifested by the Chiefs in convening. This circumstance, how-

⁸ Blain and Glasscock were appointed by Georgia to cooperate with the United States Commissioners.

ever, is far from producing despair. We shall endeavor to accommodate ourselves to the exigency, & if we fail in one expedient, we must resort to others. Such course is, to be sure, a little humiliating, but warranted by the character of the Nation with whom we are treating.

Your suggestion of the propriety of our addressing the "head Chiefs separately, and of communicating a circular to the whole people," meets our assent. In furtherance of the idea, we propose to have our despatches in preparation by Monday morning. We shall be obliged by your aid in providing messengers, and should regard it as inexpedient, for both Interpreters to be absent at the same time.

If your Office contains information of the number of Chiefs, their names & residence, we shall be thankful if you will communicate it.

We have the honor to be, with great respect,

Y^r O^{bt} hum^l Sr^{vs},

DUNCAN G. CAMPBELL,

JAS. MERIWETHER,

U. S. Com^{rs}.

JAMES BLAIN,

THOMAS GLASSCOCK,

State Com^{rs}.

No. 14

Joseph McMinn to Meriwether, April 15, 1823, informing him that he (McMinn) has been appointed Agent for the Cherokees.

No. 15

Meriwether to McMinn, April 30, 1823, referring to the failure of the January meeting with the Cherokees and arranging for an August meeting.

No. 16

Meriwether to McMinn, May 17, 1823, acknowledging letters of April 15th and May 6th.

No. 17

WASHINGTON 18th May 1823

Joseph McMinn Esqr.

SIR,

I have lately rec^d your favour, expressing a readiness to co-operate with the Commissioners, upon the subject of a 'Treaty with the Cherokee Nation of Indians. This proffered aid is the more acceptable, on account of the increasing difficulties which the Commissioners have in prospect. I beg leave to refer you to the proceedings of a late Council held near Fort Ville, a copy of which I have inclosed. From the temper heretofore evinced, and now confirmed, it would seem that we are not to expect a Convention at any place, other than New Town. We have been advised against an acquiescence in such proposal, upon the grounds, that at their Seat of government, far in the interior, the Nation will assume a tone, which will be wholly independent, if not superciliary and dictatorial. The General Government having been so earnestly importuned by the State of Georgia to obtain a further cession, the Commissioners are particularly desirous to bring their negotiations to a successful issue. To this end, they solicit the aid of your experience. You are aware that we have requested a Convention at Talonoy on the 9th August. From the proceedings of the late Council the proposition is rejected in language, determined & positive. Under the circumstances would you consider it advisable that we insist further on a meeting at that place, or that we make a requisition upon our contractors? The time suggested by the Council is inconvenient, and illy suits our other arrangements. We should not strenuously object to the *place*, except for the *concession* which it involves.

I have thought that a part of the reluctance and obstinacy which have been manifested, arises from a determination, if possible, to prevent an adjustment of the Georgia claims. They affect to regard these but lightly. I conclude however, that they have had a full share in producing the obstacles which have been thrown in our way.

Upon leaving the Agency last winter, we committed to the

care of Mr. R. J. Meigs the provisions which had been furnished by the Contractors. Will you be pleased to give this matter a view, and adopt the course which will be least expensive to the government. It is not probable that the same provisions will be needed for future use. Your superior means of information will best enable you to determine. That we may report our proceedings as far as we have gone to the War department, and adjust our accounts, we shall be obliged, if you will request Mr. Meigs to forward us the duplicate receipts of the Contractors, and also duplicate vouchers for any other disbursement he may have found it necessary to make.

I regret that Maj. Meriwether & myself, from the remoteness of our situations cannot act more in concert. He will no doubt give you his views generally. We shall be employed together in purchasing the reserves within the limits of Georgia, from the 10th to the last of June, & will then make you a further communication. In the mean time, & as soon as may suit your convenience we shall be glad to hear from you. With sentiments of respect & consideration I am Sir

Y^r O^{bt} S^{rvt}

DUNCAN G. CAMPBELL.

Joseph McMinn Esq.
Cherokee Agency.

Inclosure

NEAR FORTVILLE, CHEROKEE NATION,
April 25th 1823

In Council Convened

FRIENDS & BROTHERS,

The undersigned Chiefs, in behalf of the Cherokee Nation convened in Council for the purpose of taking into consideration your communication of the 10th of Feby. last, urging the repeal of the Resolutions of October 1822, so that a convention may take place at Talonoy on the 9th day of August next, for the purpose of entering into various topics of negotiation with you as United States Commissioners. We have therefore maturely considered the subject contained in your several communications

to our Head Chief, Mr. Charles R. Hicks, and to the Nation.— Brothers it is with deep regret we have noticed the feelings with which you have expressed your sentiments towards the Resolutions of Oct^r 1822 and the course which have been pursued by the Nation in not meeting you at the Agency in January last, and their strict adherence to those Resolutions. You have thought proper to denounce those Resolutions as being *premature disrespectful* and of *dangerous tendency*.

Brothers, surely you could not have read those Resolutions with attention, or otherwise, you could not with due reflection have asserted what has been declared by the Committee & Council, as emanating from *Mature deliberation*, to be premature.

Brothers, we declare in behalf of the Nation, and ourselves that those Resolutions were adopted from just and proper motives, being actuated from an impulse, of preserving and promoting the *true* interest and happiness of the Cherokee People, and that no disrespect or contempt to the General Government, or to her Commissioners, are offered or intended. So far is it from any such intention, that the concluding part of the general Resolution observes, “but on any other business not relating to making a Treaty of cession we will at all times during the Session of the National Council at New Town, receive the U. States Commissioners or Agents with friendship and cordiality, and will ever keep *bright* the chain of *peace* and *friendship* which *links* the *Cherokee Nation* and the Government of the U. States.” Such are the sentiments which you so strongly protest against as being *premature, disrespectful* and of *dangerous tendency*, and are so desirous that the Chiefs should repeal, so that a convention may take place on the 9th Augst next at Talonoy, and that the difficulties & breach which has taken place between the President & his favorite Indian children, may be healed.” If these your expressions flow from deliberate reflections, and be your *real* construction of the sentiments which we have quoted from the afore-said resolution, we are really at a loss how you could suppose that we could ever agree with your ideas, how to promote the *welfare & happiness* of the Cherokees, when your object is to

obtain their lands and to seek compensation for things which have long since been solemnly adjusted by a Treaty & forgotten. Brothers, In adhering to our Resolutions, we neither offer *disrespect, contempt* or refuse to receive Ministers or Commissioners of the U. States. During the sitting of the Council which adopted this General Resolution, a communication accompanying a copy of the Resolution was forwarded by the Chiefs in Council, to the Honorable Secretary of War, and a letter was also written to the then, Agent, Col^o Meigs, informing him of the course adopted by the Council, and requesting him to communicate the same to the U. States Commissioners in his correspondence with them, so that that they may not be disappointed in coming forward to call a Treaty, and that the U. States may be saved the useless expenses, of making necessary preparations and of procuring supplies for a Treaty &c. All this was done in Oct^r 1822, a considerable time previous to your fixing the time for a meeting and to enter into a contract for supplies &c. Under these circumstances, you came forward, and the "*failure, exposure, expense, and trouble*" which you complain of occurred. All these occurrences may be attributed, as we suppose, to the very little confidence and respect you had, for the proceedings of our Council. Brothers, to avoid similar occurrences, we now declare to you, that the Resolution of Council emanated from due regard to the interests, happiness, and prosperity of the Cherokee People, and that its adoption was founded, upon *mature deliberation*, and that it will be strictly observed, and cannot be repealed; and further, that we do hereby solemnly protest before God and man, against the Nation meeting you at Talonoy on the 9th August next as you have suggested. We have but one Seat for our General Council which is at New Town, and should you come forward during our next General Council at that place, the committee & Council will take you by the hand as friends & Brothers, and hear what you have to say on the subject of your mission. We know of no instance of Ministers or Commissioners, to a foreign Court, persisting in selecting a spot remote from the Seat of Government to which their embassy was directed for negotiation; and of taking it entirely upon

themselves to fix the time for a convention. We make these remarks because you have intimated, that "a refusal to receive Ministers or Commissioners, has always been considered one of the highest contempts which can pass between Nations, and has often led to the most serious consequences." Brothers, we have denied all these charges which you have alledged to our dispositions as emanating from the General Resolution; because the Resolution expressed the most frindly disposition to keep bright the chain of *Peace* and *friendship* which *links* the *Cherokee Nation* and the *government* of *United States*. We are ignorant of any difficulties or breach, having taken place between us, and our Father the President. Have you appeared before the General Council of this Nation at our *Great Council* fire at New Town, as Commissioners of the U. States? And have you been rejected and treated with contempt? No, Brothers; such circumstances have not taken place, therefore we are entirely innocent of the denunciations which you have heaped upon us. Brothers, we have no desire that the U. States should incur any expense of procuring supplies for the Nation on the subject of your mission. Should you think proper to come forward to our next general Council at New Town, the Nation will furnish their own supplies, and as for yourselves you could obtain as good accommodations there as the Nation affords. Brothers, we deem it proper to inform you that our next General Council will be convened on the 1st day of September next, being the *earliest period* which will admit of convenience for the *General Convention* of this Nation.

We take you by the hands in behalf of the Nation and ourselves as Friends & Brothers.

(Signed by John Ross and twenty-two others.)

No. 18

McMinn to Meriwether, May 27, 1823, reporting that he has reproved the Cherokees for not meeting the commissioners last winter, that they are "clamorous" for the removal of intruders from their lands, and that he has "just paid the annuity for the present year, one third in specie, and the remainder in Southern Paper, which appears to give very general satisfaction."

No. 19

GAINESVILLE, 16th June 1823.

Joseph McMinn Esq.

SIR,

We have had the honor of receiving yours of the 15th Ap^l. & 27th May. In answer to the first, not having an opportunity of an interview, we addressed you, *separately*. One of these communications was made from Washington on the 18th of May, and was accompanied by a copy of the proceedings of a Council which had been held in the Cherokee Nation near Fort Ville. We regret extremely, your not having received these communications before Col. Williams left the Agency. The determination expressed by the Council not to accept the invitation to convene at Talonoy, places us under new embarrassments in which we have need of the aid & advice, which it is probable, you have the means of furnishing. The last proceedings near Fort Ville have all the forms of authority and deliberation. We may well conclude, therefore, that they will be adhered to with the same tenacity which was displayed at our attempted meeting at the Agency in January. The probability is, that we shall be driven to acquiesce in their own appointment of a meeting at New Town on the 1st September. We must do this, or despair of a Convention at all. We have adopted invitation, remonstrance and protest. These have not availed us anything. We have no means of coercion. Our present views then, are, that a requisition upon the Contractors, preparatory to the meeting at Talonoy, will be unnecessary. We are the more convinced of this, from the statement contained in their late proceedings, of ability to furnish their own supplies. To satisfy the Nation however, of our determination to persevere, we deem it proper to attend at Tolonoy at the time appointed. If we fail in procuring a meeting, our efforts will then be directed to such means as will be calculated to effect a punctual attendance at New Town on the 1st Sept^r. & to such other means as may facilitate a negotiation at that time. It is also questionable, whether it will be necessary to furnish supplies even at New Town, except for ourselves. The

grounds taken by the Nation are so lofty, that their aim seems to be little short of complete independence. We beg leave to refer much, upon these points, to your discretion. If from any thing which has or may occur, you should be of opinion that a different course is expedient, we shall be obliged if you will suggest it, and take measures accordingly. On our arrival at Talonoy we shall be happy to meet you. The measures to be concerted at that time will probably regulate our operations at New Town.

In our letter of the 18th May, we took leave to request your attention to the provisions which were furnished at the Agency in January. Apprehending the possibility of a miscarriage of that letter we now inclose you a copy, also a copy of the proceedings of the Council. We placed in the hands of Mr. Meigs the sum of \$1850, as we now recollect. This was done to enable him to satisfy the contractors for the requisition which had been made, & to cover the expense of taking care & disposing of the provisions. We have written to Mr. Meigs to pay over to your department whatever sum may be in his hands, arising from our deposit, or the sale of the provisions, deducting his disbursements and compensation for his trouble and agency. Will you do us the favour to make the settlement, & take such Vouchers as will sustain that part of our account before the War Department.

In relation to the business of our appointments generally we ask your observation and aid, and that the same may be communicated by Express or otherwise whenever in your opinion it may become necessary.

With great respect and consideration

We are Sir,

Y^r Ob^t Ser^{vs}

DUNCAN G. CAMPBELL.

JAS. MERIWETHER.

No. 20

CHEROKEE AGENCY 7th July 1823.

*James Merriwether and
Duncan G. Campbell*

} *esquires*

GENTLEMEN,

I received on the 4th Instant a letter by express, from Mr. Charles R. Hicks Head Chief of the Cherokee Nation covering the copy of a letter signed Geo. Sanders, Alex^r. Sanders, and John Sanders, in which they have stated to Mr. Hicks, that it never was their wish to have the Treaty held at Tallony, and that they conceive New Town, has a preference over that place in several respects; these statements they have requested Mr. Hicks to communicate to you, but it seems he has preferred sending their letter to me, requesting that, I might advise you of the contents, which, I would have done by express, were it not, that the communication originated where it did, of which, I have apprised John Ross P. M., and hope it will have a speedy & safe passage.

I have received instructions of a late date from the Hon^l. John C. Calhoun, for removing the Intruders from the Cherokee Land, which renders it rather doubtfull whether, I will be able to attend at Tallony conformably to your request or not, tho if the Troops should march against them as early as, I expect, there will be nothing to prevent my attending at New Town (Sickness excepted) on the 1st September next.

With regard to meeting the Cherokee Council at Tallony on the 9th August next, I beg leave to remark that my impressions have been opposed, not to the right, but the policy of the measure, and this letter from Sanders has confirmed what I have for some time believed would be their language namely "they wish if the Commissioners will hold the Treaty at Tallony that no person will attend belonging to our nation" and, I am so intimately acquainted with their mode of prosecuting an opposition, that, I feel warranted in stating to you that no chief man will venture to attend the meeting at Tallony in opposition to the wish of Mr. Hicks, and a few others, (rullers) of the nation; and

were we to attend, and not be met by those in power, it would afford couse [excuse] for them to exult in our disappointment, to a greater extent than they will, by an agreement with their own wishes, and your efforts will acquire additional strength, by being able to state to them that, notwithstanding their absence in the first instance, you have now met them at the place of their choice, &c and however unpleasant it may be to, add concession, to Insult, I hazzard very little in stating, that, to accomplish the object you have in view, it will become necessary to resort to measures of sound policy, as well, as to take a firm, and decided stand.

These Gentlemen are some of my views of the subject under consideration, and in conclusion beg leave to remark, that, I conceive it most advisable to dispence with the meeting at Tallony.

Mr. Meigs attended here after receiving your letter, for the purpose of closing his accounts which arrangement, I have not entered into believing, that, it can be effected more to the satisfaction of all parties, when we meet at the conference, where Mr. Meigs observed he had for some time determined to attend. I have the honor to be

your obt. Servant

JOS. MCMINN.

No. 21

CHEROKEE AGENCY, 30 July 1823.

Messrs James Merriwether
and Duncan G. Campbell } *esquires*

I do myself the honor to enclose you the copy of a letter signed, J. Ross and Charles R. Hicks in behalf of the Council of the Cherokee Nation, and extracts of my reply to said letter.

From the former you will discover the course taken by the Council in suspending the period for meeting in the pending negociation, and in the latter you will see my remarks, addressed to Mr. Hicks which, I transmit without comment.

There must be amongst a part of the Cherokee Rulers, some lattent prejudices, against meeting you in Council, and untill you

can effect a convocation it will be impossible to predict the course that will be taken by them, for in fact I believe a great part of their unwillingness arises from doubts they entertain of the integrity of each other. They are all aware of their liability to yield to the old temptations, which have been presented on similar occasions, and, I have no doubt their jealousies of each other originates in some instances to save their country, and, I [have] as little hesitation in saying that with others Bribery is the favorite maxim, & Governing Policy.

You may calculate upon my bringing one of my Interpreters from this place, tho tis possible, that sound policy might dictate the propriety of your engaging one out of some of the strongest clans, who would act as a check upon each other.

I would be gratified on hearing what arrangements you have made to procure the necessary stores, or whether you will rely upon being furnished by the Cherokee House Keepers. For myself I am doubtful they will not furnish anything but Beef, and Bread, (*perhaps coffee*). Bacon & Butter, I expect will form no part of the ration. Should you prefer making a requisition on this place, I will execute your instructions with pleasure. Flour & spirits can be had here with convenience, Bacon is scarce tho, I expect some might be procured, and, I hold it in relation to food, as the best guarantee for good health where the Traveller has to change water and climate. I have the honor to be

your ob^t S^{vt}

JOS. McMINN

No. 22

GAINSVILLE, 9th August 1823.

Joseph McMinn Esq.

SIR,

. . . We have had an interview lately, at which, we came to the conclusion to conform to your suggestion and decline an attempt to effect a meeting at Talony. We shall be at that place, on our way to New Town, about the 27th. . . . Being disappointed in the expected meeting at Talony it becomes the more desirable that a punctual attendance should take place at New-

town. The time illy suits our other engagements. Perhaps the movements of our Red Brethren might be accelerated a little, by a circular addressed from yourself. . . .

D. G. CAMPBELL

No. 23

Johnson Wellborn and James Blain, Georgia Commissioners, to McMinn, October 6, 1823, submitting their credentials.⁹

No. 24

NEWTOWN 21th October 1823.

MY FRIEND

I am going to inform you a few lines as a friend. I want you to give me your opinion about the treaty whether the chiefs will be willing or not. If the chiefs feel disposed to let the United States have the land part of it, I want you to let me know. I will make the United States commissioners give you two thousand dollars A McCoy the same and Charles Hicks \$3000 for present, and nobody shall know it, and if you think the land wouldnt sold, I will be satisfied. If the land should be sold, I will get you the amount before the treaty sign, and if you got any friend you want him to Receive it, they shall recd the same; nothing more to inform you at present. I remain your affectionate

Friend

WM. MCINTOSH.

John Ross¹⁰

an answer return

NB. the whole amount is \$12000. you can divide among your friends. exclusive \$7000.

⁹ A note almost identically the same, was sent by Campbell and Meriwether to McMinn, [Amer. State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, vol. II, p. 465.]

¹⁰ The endorsement by Ross on the back of this letter is as important as the letter itself. It runs as follows: "rec'd on the 23rd Octr, 1823 - - - read and exposed in open Council in the presence of Wm. McIntosh Octr 24th, 1823. J. Ross."

No. 25

NEW TOWN 27th Oct^r 1823

DEAR GOVERNOR—

But little has occurred since you left us of any moment except what is contained in our last talk, a copy of which is inclosed. The answer of the Council has just been received.¹¹ We will inclose a copy. A rupture of some seriousness took place a few days ago between the Council & Genl. McIntosh. The Genl. had made himself very offensive and professed to be very anxious for our success. He had some experience in making treaties, and knew the means which were some times resorted to. Presuming upon *his* capacity and upon *our* willingness to support him, he made an approach to the Pres^{dt} of the Committee by note which was loftily repelled & exposed. The matter excited considerable [?], but was not visited upon us except by McIntosh when he was arraigned. The authorities here evinced great determination to the last, and even became louder. They are entitled at least to the merit of consistency. The President will have to learn his children better manners before we visit them again.

We are in confusion preparatory to an early start in the morning.

As often as your leisure will admit I shall be glad of a line *officially or individually*.

Accept my best wishes for your health & happiness.

I am D^r Sir

Yours

Very truly

D. G. CAMPBELL

Joseph McMinn Esqr.

¹¹ Amer. State papers, *Indian Affairs*, II: 471-473.

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